1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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First Division. Initial Rites

First Ritual. Making the Hako

Part I. Invoking the Powers

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

At the creation of the world it was arranged that there should be lesser powers. Tira'wa atius, the mighty power, could not come near to man, could not be seen or felt by him, therefore lesser powers were permitted. They were to mediate between man and Tira'wa. The first song mentions some of these lesser powers in the order in which they come near to man, in the order of their creation.

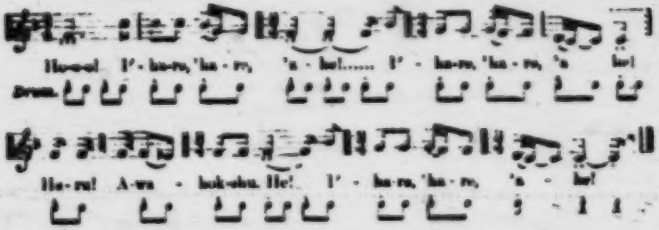
773 ●
776
539*
796*

[illegible]

Words and Music

539*
796*
[533]*

M. M. ♩ = 128.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



I

1 Ho-o-o!
2 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
3 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
4 Heru! Awahakshu. He!
5 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

II

6 Ho-o-o!
7 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
8 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
9 Heru! Hoturu. He!
10 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

III

11 Ho-o-o!
12 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
13 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
14 Heru! Shakuru. He!
15 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

IV

16 Ho-o-o!
17 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
18 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
19 Heru! H'Uraru. He!
20 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

V

21 Ho-o-o!
22 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
23 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
24 Heru! Tchuru. He!
25 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

VI

26 Ho-o-o!
27 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
28 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
29 Heru! Chakuru. He!
30 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

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When we have finished singing this song the Ku'rahus takes one of the plum-tree sticks, which has been anointed with red clay mixed with fat, and ties on it with a thread of sinew a downy eagle feather. This stick is bound to the ear of corn so as to project a hand's breadth above the tip end, letting the downy feather wave above Mother Corn. This feather represents Tira'wa. It is always moving as if breathing. 796* [284]

The Ku'rahus then binds the other plum-tree stick to the corn so that it extends below the butt. When the corn is placed in ceremonial position this end of the stick is thrust in the ground so that the ear will stand upright without touching the earth. Both sticks are bound to the ear of corn by a braided band of hair taken from the head of a buffalo. The braided band signifies the gift of animal food and the provision of skin clothing. (The Skidi band of the Pawnees [184] tie a bit of buffalo wool, such as is shed by the animal in the spring, together with a braid of sweet grass, to the ear of corn.)

The two gourd rattles, which represent the squash given us by Tira'wa, and also the breasts of the mother, are each painted with a blue circle about the middle, with four equidistant lines from the circle to the bottom of the gourd. The circle represents the wall or boundary of the dome of the sky; the four lines are for the four paths at the four directions down which the powers descend. No song is sung while this painting is being done.

All the sacred articles are laid at rest on a wildcat skin when they are not being used ceremonially, and it is a cover for them in which they are all wrapped together at the close of the ceremony. The skin [281] is never tanned, and the ears of the animal, the skin of the head, the feet, and the claws must all be intact.

Tira'wa made the wildcat to live in the forest. He has much skill and ingenuity. The wildcat shows us that we must think, we must use tact, and be shrewd when we set out to do anything. If we wish to approach a person we should not do it bluntly; we should not rush at him; that might offend him so that he would not receive us or the gifts we desired to offer him. The wildcat does not make enemies by rush action. He is observant, quiet, and tactful, and he always gains his end. 773 576 825

In this ceremony we are to carry the sacred articles to one not of our kindred in order to bind him to us by a sacred and strong tie; we are to ask for him many good gifts, long life, health, and children, and we should receive gifts from him in return. If we would succeed we must learn of the wildcat, and be wise as he is wise.

The wildcat is one of the sacred animals. A man who killed a wildcat could sacrifice it to Tira'wahut. The man who brought such an offering had the right to ask the priest to teach him some of the mysteries that belong to the sacred shrine. 825 782 794

Many years ago two men took the Hako to the Omaha tribe. On the journey one of them killed a wildcat. I said to the man: "I am

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Translation of First Stanza

*539 671 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 673 Whitit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi.
whitit, it is believed, it is supposed. The word implies a question with the desire to know the truth of the belief.
kasharu, a composite word; ka, from rotkaharu, night; sharu, dreams, visions.
ha! behold!
kira, accomplished or brought to pass.
rehra, I hold standing; present tense.
wi, from wirit, an article swinging. The word tells that the article which the person stands holding is swinging in his hand; this refers to the rhythmic swaying of the feathered stems during the singing of the songs of the ceremony.
674 See line 673.
675 Ta hao!
ta, a part of kutati, my.
hao, offspring; my own child. The term refers to the Son.
676 Hiri! Hako-o!
hiri! give heed; harken.
Hako-o; Hako, the sacred articles of the ceremony; o, vowel prolongation.
677 See line 673.
678 See line 675.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 This stanza asks about the origin of the Hako, about the account
*796 which has come down to us that the Hako and its ceremonies were sent by the powers above to our fathers through a vision.
●773 We have been taught that in a vision our fathers were told how to
787 make the feathered stems, how to use them, how to sway them to the songs, so that they should move like the wings of a bird in its flight. It was in a vision that our fathers were told how they could cause a man who was not their bodily offspring to become a Son, to be bound to them by a tie as strong as the natural tie between father and son.

For this knowledge our fathers gave thanks and we give thanks, for by this ceremony peace and plenty, strength, and all good things come to the people.

Translation of Second Stanza

*539 679 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 680 Kutit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi.
kutit, it is; an assertion. The word gives a definite answer to the implied question in the first word of the first stanza, whitit. The belief, the supposition, is declared to be the truth.
kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi. See line 673.

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681 See line 680.
682 See line 675.
683 Hiri! Hako-o! See line 676.
684 See line 680.
685 See line 675.

539*
796*

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

This stanza tells the Children that it is true that the knowledge of this ceremony was given to our fathers by the powers above through a vision. We speak of the vision as kasharu, because visions are apt to come in the night when all is still; they then descend, pass over the earth, and come to man.

This stanza also tells that the man to whom we have brought the Hako is to be made a Son in the way our fathers were directed in the vision.

None of the songs of this ceremony can be changed; they must be sung accurately, just as they have been handed down to us, for the words speak of the powers above and their gifts to us, and we must be careful of such words.

539*
796*
773
787

SECOND SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩ = 116.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

539*
796*
[533*]

1

686 Ho-o-o-o!
687 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
688 Ta kira ru teru he;
689 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
690 Ta kira ru teru he;
691 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
692 Ta kira ru teru he.

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Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 When, during the ceremony of the Hako, the Pleiades appear above the horizon, this song must be sung. If, when the coming of these stars is reported, we should be singing, we must break off at the third stanza and sing this song for the fourth circuit of the lodge.

821 773 This song to the Pleiades is to remind the people that Tira'wa has appointed the stars to guide their steps. It is very old and belongs to the time when this ceremony was being made. This is the story to explain its meaning which has been handed down from our fathers:

A man set out upon a journey; he traveled far; then he thought he would return to his own country, so he turned about. He traveled long, yet at night he was always in the same place. He lay down and slept and a vision came. A man spoke to him; he was the leader of the seven stars. He said: "Tira'wa made these seven stars to remain together, and he fixed a path from east to west for them to travel over. He named the seven stars Chaka. If the people will look at these stars they will be guided aright."

When the man awoke he saw the Pleiades rising; he was glad, and he watched the stars travel. Then he turned to the north and reached his own country.

The stars have many things to teach us, and the Pleiades can guide us and teach us how to keep together.

*539 *796 We sing this song four times as we make the circuit of the lodge; then we lay the Hako down to rest upon the holy place and sing the songs which belong to that action.

The following songs can be sung at night after the regular song has been completed, if the Children should call for them:

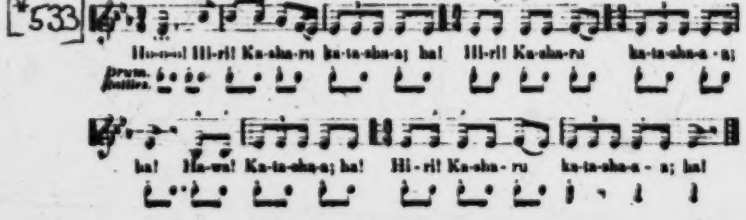
EXTRA NIGHT SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩ = 132.

• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]



707 Ha-e-e!
708 Hiri! Kasharu katasha-a; ha!
709 Hiri! Kasharu katasha-a-a; ha!
710 Hawa! Katasha-a; ha!
711 Hiri! Kasharu katasha-a-a; ha!

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A holy man who lived long ago, no one knows how long, for there have been many generations since, had a dream. He was taken up to the place where all the visions dwell, those that belong to Kawas, the brown eagle, and those that belong to the white eagle, the male. While he was there the day began to dawn and he saw the visions that had been sent down to earth come climbing up, and he recognized among them some of the visions that had visited him in the past. Then he knew of a truth that all visions of every kind dwell above in Katasha, and that they descend thence to us in the night, and that as the day dawns they ascend, returning to rest in their dwelling place.

The holy man made this song about his dream and told its meaning, and the song and the story have been handed down to us that we might know where visions come from, where they dwell and where they go to when they depart from us.

Among the Pawnees there are shrines, in the keeping of certain men, which contain articles that are used in the sacred ceremonies of the different bands of the tribe. These shrines are very old, they were given by the lesser powers to our fathers with a knowledge of their contents and how to use them.

An ear of corn belongs to one of these shrines. It is a peculiar ear. It is white, with perfect and straight lines of kernels, and there is a tassel on its tip. In the fall the priest of the shrine tells the women to look carefully for such ears when they gather their corn, for Tira'wa causes such ears to grow in the fields for the purposes of this shrine and they belong to it. The little tassel on the tip of the ear of corn represents the feather worn on the head of the warrior. The sacred ear of corn is sometimes borrowed from the priest by the leader of a war party. The ear of corn is born of Mother Earth, she knows all places and the acts of all men who walk the earth, so she is a leader.

Sometimes a young man who proposed going to war would request the following song to be sung. He desired success and wished Mother Corn to lead him. After the Hako ceremony was over he would borrow a sacred ear of corn and put it in a pack which the leader of the war party would sling upon his back. When the party was successful, he would thrust into the ground the stick upon which the ear of corn was tied and as this ear stood before him he would give thanks to it for having led him in safety.

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*539 *796 726 741 Atira! Atira hira-a.
Atira! Atira hira. See line 738.
a, vowel prolongation.

II

742 Ha-a-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
743 Hitkasharu, Hitkasharu, iri!
hitkasharu, a composite word; hit, from hittu, feather; ka, from rutkaharu, night; sharu, dream. The word refers to dreams brought by the birds that attend the Hako. As the song refers to war, the word refers to the white eagle stem, the male, the warrior, the dream that attends that eagle.
iri! a part of the exclamation nawairi! expressing thankfulness that all is well.
744 Hiri! Hiri! Ri ral i;
hiri! harken! give heed!
ri, has.
ral, coming; in the future.
i, it.
745 Sawi rare ka wara, sawi rare ka wara. See first stanza, line 740.
746 See line 743.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 726 ●773 There are not many words to this song, but the meaning and the story have been handed down from our fathers.

The first stanza tells of a war party which started out carrying Mother Corn. As the warriors left the village the old men wished them good luck, and said: "Mother Corn will be like a snare to entangle the enemy, so that they will fall easily. Mother Corn will be like a trap into which the enemy will fall and out of which there will be no escape."

The young men started and took a straight course for the enemy's country; they knew the land and they went directly there, but they found nothing. They went to the east, there was nothing. They turned to the west, there was nothing. They traveled to the north, there was nothing. They went to the south, there was nothing. Then they made their way back to the point from which they had started on the border of the enemy's land.

The leader said: "I am worn out, our moccasins are in holes, we are without food, we must turn back. We will return to our home tomorrow."

That night they lay down and slept. The leader placed the pack with the ear of corn under his head, and with a heavy heart he fell asleep.

The second stanza tells that in the night the ear of corn spoke to the leader in a dream and said: "Tira'wa hade me test you, and I

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have been putting you on trial. I am able to bring strength to the people, the gift of life, and good fortune and success in war. I caused all your misadventures that I might try your courage. Now, you shall not go home on the morrow. If you should, the people would say, 'Mother Corn is powerless.' In the morning you must do as I tell you. You must go toward the southeast; there you will come upon a village where the people have many ponies; these you shall capture and return safely and in triumph, and learn that I have power to lead to success."

The leader did as Mother Corn had directed, and everything came to pass as she had said.

This song has no fixed place in the ceremony but it must be sung at night, because the dream came at that time to the warrior.

The next song is about a man to whom Mother Corn came in a dream; it happened very long ago. The song and the story are very old and have come down to us from our fathers, who knew this ceremony.

Mother Corn spoke to this man in his dream. We are not told what she said to him, but when he awoke he started out to find the man in whose keeping was a shrine containing the ear of corn. As he walked he met a man and asked him, "Is it far to the lodge where the corn is?" The man pointed to a lodge some distance off and said, "It is within." Then the man who had had the dream walked toward the place. As he entered the lodge he saw a shrine hanging on one of the poles and he asked the keeper if it contained the sacred ear of corn, and he was told that it did. Then he took his pipe and offered smoke and prayer in the presence of the corn; because Mother Corn had appeared to him in a dream and had spoken to him he came to offer her reverence.

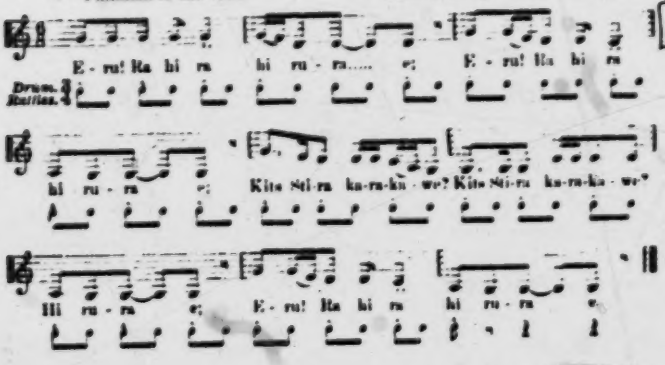
EXTRA NIGHT SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩ = 120.

• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



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lodge in charge of the Ilako go to their tents. Soon all is quiet within the lodge, the fire burns down to coals and every one sleeps except the man on guard. He must watch through the night and give warning of the first sign of a change in the appearance of the east. As soon as this is seen the skins that hang over the doors of the lodge are lifted and the Ku'rahus makes ready to repeat the songs to the Dawn (tenth ritual). We sing these sacred songs at the dawn of the second day, the day when we chant to our father the Sun, and we sing them again at the dawn of the third day, when we sing to our mother the Earth. 539* 796*

THIRTEENTH RITUAL. (THIRD DAY). THE FEMALE ELEMENT INVOKED

PART I. THE SACRED FEAST OF CORN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

With the morning sun the Children gather at the lodge to receive their morning meal given them by the Fathers. Soon afterward the sacred feast of the Corn takes place. For this feast the Children prepare the food in the manner our fathers did. They pound the dried corn in a wooden mortar and boil the course meal until it is thoroughly cooked. They do this in their own homes and then carry the food in the kettles in which it has been cooked to the lodge where the ceremony is being performed, and set them near the fireplace toward the southeast, where wooden bowls and horn spoons have been provided for the occasion. 796* 252 [415]

When all the company have been seated the Fathers ladle out the food into the bowls. The Ku'rahus takes up a little of the food on the tip of a spoon, offers it toward the east, flipping a particle toward the horizon line. He then passes to the north, drops a bit on the rim of the fireplace, and goes to the west, where, facing the east, he lifts the spoon toward the zenith, pauses, waves it to the four quarters and slowly lowers it to the earth and drops a bit on the rim of the fireplace. After this ceremony of offering thanks the filled bowls are placed before the people. Two or more persons take a few spoonfuls from the same bowl, then, hanging the spoons on the edge to prevent their falling into the food, they pass the bowl on to the next group at the left. In this way all the people partake of a common feast. 782 796*

PART II. SONG TO THE EARTH

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

On the third day of the ceremony it is the duty of the Ku'rahus to teach the Children concerning h'Uraru, Mother Earth, and of those 539* 796* 773●

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*796 things which she brings forth to sustain the life of the people. The
● 773 Ku'rahus has received these teachings from older Ku'rahus, who also received them, and so on through generations back to the time when they were revealed to our fathers through a vision from the mysterious powers above. A Ku'rahus must devote his life to learning these songs and their meaning and the ceremonies which accompany them. He must spend much of his time in thinking of these things and in praying to the mighty powers above.

The Ku'rahus speaks to the Children and tells them that Tira'wa atius is the father of all things. Then the feathered stems are taken up and we sing again the song which we sang the first day before the Children had partaken of the food prepared for them by the Fathers. We sang it then remembering Tira'wa atius, the father of all, of whose gift of food we were about to receive. Now we sing it, remembering that he is the father of the sun which sends its ray, and of the earth which brings forth.

FIRST SONG

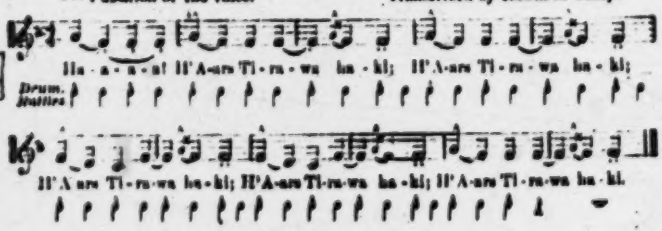
Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 126.

*539 ··· Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

*796

[*533]



755 Ha-a-a-a!
756 Il'Aars Tira'wa haki;
757 Il'Aars Tira'wa haki;
758 Il'Aars Tira'wa haki;
759 Il'Aars Tira'wa haki;
760 Il'Aars Tira wa haki.

For translation, see eighth ritual, first song, page 107.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

On the second circuit of the lodge we sing the song which follows the first. It tells us that all the lesser powers are from Tira'wa atius, the father of all. As we sing we remember the power given to Mother Earth.

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II

*539 812 Ho-o-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 813 'Hare, 'hare, iha're! See line 807.
814 See line 813.
815 Re whari 'hare, re 'hare.
re, they.
whari, moving, walking.
'hare, part of iha're, young.
re 'hare. Translated above.
816 Whari 'hare, re 'hare. See line 815.
817 See line 815.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 One day a man whose mind was open to the teaching of the powers
*796 wandered on the prairie. As he walked, his eyes upon the ground,
he spied a bird's nest hidden in the grass, and arrested his feet just
●793 in time to prevent stepping on it. He paused to look at the little nest tucked away so snug and warm, and noted that it held six eggs and that a peeping sound came from some of them. While he watched, one moved and soon a tiny bill pushed through the shell, uttering a shrill cry. At once the parent birds answered and he looked up to see where they were. They were not far off; they were flying about in search of food, chirping the while to each other and now and then calling to the little one in the nest.

The homely scene stirred the heart and the thoughts of the man as he stood there under the clear sky, glancing upward toward the old birds and then down to the helpless young in the nest at his feet. As he looked he thought of his people, who were so often careless and thoughtless of their children's needs, and his mind brooded over the matter. After many days he desired to see the nest again. So he went to the place where he had found it, and there it was as safe as when he left it. But a change had taken place. It was now full to overflowing with little birds, who were stretching their wings, balancing on their little legs and making ready to fly, while the parents with encouraging calls were coaxing the fledglings to venture forth.

"Ah!" said the man, "if my people would only learn of the birds, and, like them, care for their young and provide for their future, homes would be full and happy, and our tribe be strong and prosperous."

When this man became a priest, he told the story of the bird's nest and sang its song; and so it has come down to us from the days of our fathers.

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THE SONG OF THE WREN.

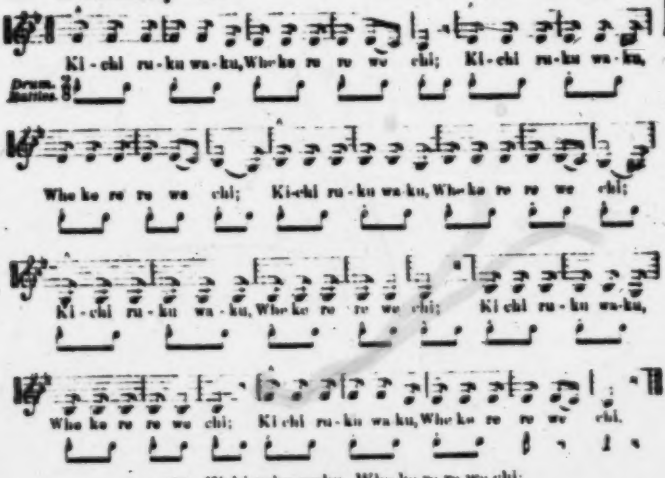
539*
796*

Words and Music

M. M. Melody. ♩ = 84.
M. M. Drum. ♩ = 108.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[533*]



818 Kichi ruku waku, Whe ke re re we chi:
819 Kichi ruku waku, Whe ke re re we chi:
820 Kichi ruku waku, Whe ke re re we chi:
821 Kichi ruku waku, Whe ke re re we chi:
822 Kichi ruku waku, Whe ke re re we chi:
823 Kichi ruku waku, Whe ke re re we chi.

Translation

818 Kichi ruku waku, Whe ke re re we chi.
kichi, so it: but this one,
ruku, sang.
waku, sound from the mouth, speech.
whe ke re re we chi, syllables imitative of the sound of the bird.

819–823. See line 818.

Explanation by the Ka'ruhus

[825]
539*
796*
773

The wren is always spoken of as the laughing bird. It is a very happy little bird, and we have stories about it. Every one likes to hear the wren sing. This song is very old; I do not know how old, how many generations old. There are very few words in the song, but there is a story which has come down with it and which tells its meaning.

A priest went forth in the early dawn. The sky was clear. The grass and wild flowers waved in the breeze that rose as the sun threw

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its first beams over the earth. Birds of all kinds vied with one another as they sang their joy on that beautiful morning. The priest stood listening. Suddenly, off at one side, he heard a trill that rose higher and clearer than all the rest. He moved toward the place whence the song came that he might see what manner of bird it was that could send farther than all the others its happy, laughing notes. As he came near he beheld a tiny brown bird with open bill, the feathers on its throat rippling with the fervor of its song. It was the wren, the smallest, the least powerful of birds, that seemed to be most glad and to pour out in ringing melody to the rising sun its delight in life.

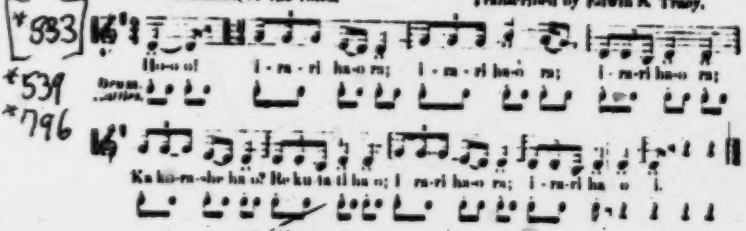
As the priest looked he thought: "Here is a teaching for my people. Everyone can be happy; even the most insignificant can have his song of thanks."

So he made the story of the wren and sang it; and it has been handed down from that day, a day so long ago that no man can remember the time.

THE SONG OF THE WOODPECKER AND THE TURKEY

Words and Music

M. M. ♩ = 108.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



824 Ho-o-o!
825 Irari hao ra; irari hao ra; irari hao ra;
826 Ka korashe hao? Re kutati hao;
827 Irari hao ra; irari hao i.

Translation

824 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
825 Irari hao ra; irari hao ra; irari hao ra.
Irari, brother.
hao, offspring, child.
ra, coming.
826 Ka korashe hao? Re kutati hao.
ka? is? a question.
korashe, your.
hao, offspring. Is it or are they your offspring?
re, they.
kutati, my or mine.
hao, offspring. They are my offspring.

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827 Irari hao ra; irari hao i.
Irari hao ra; irari hau. See line 825.
i, ——.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We are told that in old times, long, long ago, the feathers of the turkey were used where now the feathers of the brown eagle are placed on the blue feathered stem. In those days the turkey, not the brown eagle, was leader, but, through the mysterious power of the woodpecker, the turkey lost its position. This song refers to the dispute between the woodpecker and the turkey, which resulted in the supplanting of the turkey by the brown eagle.

The words of the song are few, but the story of their meaning has come down to us from the fathers.

Both the turkey and the woodpecker desired to be the protector of the children of the human race, and there was trouble between them on that account. One day the woodpecker was flying about looking for its nest when the turkey chanced that way and the woodpecker called out: "Brother, where are my eggs?"

The woodpecker talked of his eggs, but he meant the children of the people on the earth and the turkey knew that was what he was talking about.

"They are not your eggs (offspring); they are mine," said the woodpecker.

"They are mine to take care of," answered the turkey; "for in my division of life there is great power of productiveness. I have more tail feathers than any other bird and I have more eggs. Wherever I go my young cover the ground."

"True," replied the woodpecker, "but you build your nest on the ground, so that your eggs are in constant danger of being devoured by serpents, and when the eggs hatch the young become a prey to the wolves, the foxes, the weasels; therefore, your number is continually being reduced. Security is the only thing that can insure the continuation of life. I can, therefore, claim with good reason the right to care for the human race. I build my nest in the heart of the tall oak, where my eggs and my young are safe from the creatures that prey upon birds. While I have fewer eggs they hatch in security and the birds live until they die of old age. It is my place to be a protector of the life of men."

The woodpecker prevailed, and the turkey was deposed; for, although the turkey had more children, they did not live; they were killed.

Then the brown eagle was put in the turkey's place, because it was not quarrelsome, but gentle, and cared for its young, and was strong to protect them from harm.

The woodpecker was given an important place on the stem, where it presides over the path along which the help that comes from the

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*796 Hako travels—the red path. The woodpecker is wise and careful,
●773 and, that it may not get angry and be warlike on the Hako, its upper mandible is turned back over its red crest.

[787] The Hako ceremony was given in a vision, and all these things, such as the dispute between the turkey and the woodpecker, were made known to our fathers in a vision.

THE SONG OF THE DUCK

Words and Music

*539 M. M. ♩=104.
*796 • • : Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.
[*533]

828 Ho-o-o-o!
829 Huka ware, huka ware horn;
830 Ha! Wiri hukaharu we;
831 Hao e!
832 Huka ware, huka ware horn;
833 Ha! Wiri aha ha rawe we;
834 Hao e!

Translation

828 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
829 Huka ware, huka ware horn.
huka, a part of the word hukaharu, valley, a valley through which a stream is flowing.
ware, a part of teware, flying.
horn, a part of the word hornro, the earth, the land.
830 Ha! Wiri hukaharu we.
ha! behold!
wiri, it is.
hukaharu, a valley through which a stream flows.
we, they; refers to the young of the duck.
831 Hao e!
hao, offspring.
e, vocable.
832 See line 829.

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539*
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833 Ha! Wiri aha ha rawe we.
ha! wiri; behold! it is.
aha, a part of kiwaharu, a pond, a small body of water.
ha, a part of iha're, young; refers to the young of the duck.
rawe, living in.
we, they.

834 See line 831.

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

539*
796*
773

The words of this song about the duck are few, and if the story had not come down to us from the fathers, we should not know all that the song means.

The duck has great power. The story tells us about this power.

Long ago when the feathered stems were being made, the holy man who was preparing these sacred objects had a dream. In his vision the duck with the green neck appeared and said to him:

"I desire to have a place upon the feathered stem, for I have power to help the Children. This is my power: I lay my eggs near the water and, when the young are hatched, straightway they can swim; the water can not kill them. When they are grown they can go, flying through the air, from one part of the earth to the other. No place is strange to them; they never lose their way; they can travel over the water without harm and reach safely their destination. They can walk upon the land and find the springs and streams. I am an unerring guide. I know all paths below on the earth, and on the water and above in the air. Put me on the feathered stem where it is grasped by the hand, that the Children may take hold of me and not go astray."

When the holy man awoke, he did as the duck had told him, and so to this day we put the duck with the green neck on the feathered stem where it is held by the hand.

This is the meaning of the song.

539*
796*
[533*]

THE SONG OF THE OWL

Words and Music

M. M. ♩ = 144.
• = Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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*539
*796

835 He! Hiri wahoru! Hi, hiri wahoru!
836 He! Hiri wahoru! Hi, hiri wahoru!
837 He! Wahoru.

Translation

835 He! Hiri wahoru! Hi, hiri wahoru!
he! an exclamation signifying that something has been brought to one's mind that should be reflected on.
hiri; iri, a part of nawairi, an expression of thankfulness, of appreciation of good promised, or of some benefit to be derived; the initial letter h is added for euphony and ease in singing.
wahoru, owl.
hi, the same as hiri, translated above.
836 See line 835.
837 He! Wahoru! See line 835.

[*533]
*539
*796
●773

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In this song we give thanks to the owl, for it gives us help in the night. We sing it twice; the first time it is sung very slowly, the second time it is sung very fast, as we sing a dance song.

The meaning of the song has come down to us from the fathers; the words tell very little about the song.

To the same holy man to whom the duck came in a vision, the owl spoke in a dream and said:

"Put me upon the feathered stem, for I have power to help the Children. The night season is mine. I wake when others sleep. I can see in the darkness and discern coming danger. The human race must be able to care for its young during the night. The warrior must be alert and ready to protect his home against prowlers in the dark. I have the power to help the people so that they may not forget their young in sleep. I have power to help the people to be watchful against enemies while darkness is on the earth. I have power to help the people to keep awake and perform these ceremonies in the night as well as in the day."

When the holy man awoke, he remembered all that the owl had said to him, and he put the owl's feathers upon the stem, next to the duck. So the people are guided by the duck and kept awake by the owl.

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II

*539 945 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 946 Tiss we ria kishpa ka wia, kishpa ka wia, kishpa ka wia.

tiss, a part of atius, father. The term refers to the white eagle, the male feathered stem.
we, it.
ria, hovering.
kishpa, the loud cry of the eagle.
ka, a part of akaro, lodge, dwelling place.
wia, coming, moving.
kishpa, the scream of the eagle.
ka, the word has here a double reference, to the lodge, and to the nest. The lodge represents the nest.
wia, moving about, coming.
kishpa, the scream of the eagle.
ka, a part of akaro, lodge. Refers to the nest.
wia, coming.

947 See line 946.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 This song has very few words, but a story goes with it to explain its meaning.

*796 One day a man was walking on the prairie; he was thinking, and his eyes were upon the ground. Suddenly he became aware of a shadow
●773 flitting over the grass, moving in circles that inclosed his feet. He stood still, wondering what this could mean; then he looked up and beheld a brown eagle flying round and round over his head. As he gazed the bird paused, looked down upon him, then flapped its wings and flew away (first stanza).

Again the man was walking and thinking, when he caught sight of a tall tree about which a great white eagle was flying, around and around as if it were watching over something. As it flew it screamed, making a great noise. It was the father bird guarding its nest (second stanza).

The brown eagle which the man saw was Kawas; where she went when she flew away is told in the next song. The blue-feathered stem, with the brown eagle feathers upon it, is carried next to the children and waved over their heads, for she is the mother and cares for the young.

The white eagle is the male; the green-feathered stem, with his feathers upon it, is carried upon the outside, for he guards the nest.

The lodge where the children are (the lodge where the ceremony is being performed) is the nest.

The white eagle which the man saw protecting the nest teaches all men to be brave and vigilant, to guard their children and make safe their home. In token of this duty, the warrior father wears the white eagle feather.

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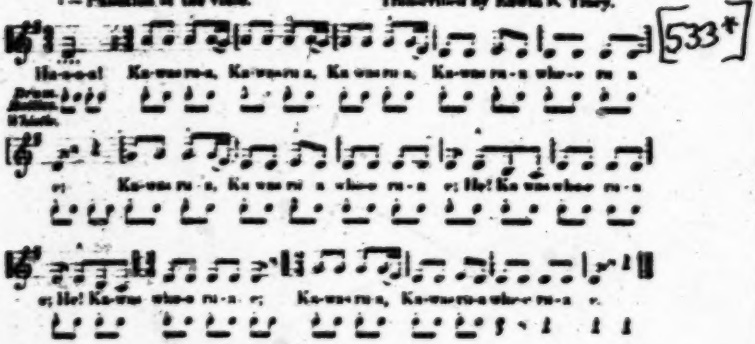
The whistle is used when we sing the second stanza, because the white eagle whistled when he flew around his nest.

FOURTH SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩ = 144.
e = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



I

948 Ha-a-a-a!
949 Kawas rua, Kawas rua, Kawas rua, Kawas rua wha-e rua e;
950 Kawas rua, Kawas rua wha-e rua e;
951 He! Kawas wha-e rua e; He! Kawas wha-e rua e;
952 Kawas rua, Kawas rua wha-e rua e

II

953 Ha-a-a-a!
954 Kawas tia, Kawas tia, Kawas tia, Kawas tia wha-ri ria e;
955 Kawas tia, Kawas tia wha-ri ria e;
956 He! Kawas wha-ri ria e; He! Kawas wha-ri ria e;
957 Kawas tia, Kawas tia wha-ri ria e.

Translation

I

948 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
949 Kawas rua, Kawas rua, Kawas rua, Kawas rua wha-e rua e.
Kawas, the brown eagle, symbol of the feminine powers.
rua, flying toward an object.
wha, it.
e, vowel prolongation.
rua, flying toward.
e, vocable.
950 Kawas rua, Kawas rua wha-e rua e. See line 949.

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*539 *796 951 He! Kawas whe-e rua e; He! Kawas whe-e rua e.
he! a part of i'hare, an exclamation calling one to reflect. See line 1.
Kawas whe-e rua e. See line 949.

952 See line 950.

II

953 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

954 Kawas tia, Kawas tia, Kawas tia, Kawas tia wheri ria e.
Kawas, the brown eagle, the feminine power.
tia, flying overhead.
wheri, it here.
ria, above and very near.
e, vocable.

955 Kawas tia, Kawas tia wheri ria e. See line 954.

956 He! Kawas wheri ria e; Kawas wheri ria e.
he! a part of i'hare, an exclamation calling one to reflect upon a subject. See line 1.
Kawas wheri ria e. See line 954.

957 See line 955.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 ●773 The story of this song which has come down to us is that when the man saw the shadow on the grass and beheld the brown eagle flying over him, the eagle, recognizing the man, flapped its wings and flew away. The brown eagle was Kawas, the mother bird, and she flew straight to her nest, to her young, who cried out with joy as she came near. We use the whistle when we sing this song because the young eagles scream as the mother returns to them.

When we sing the second stanza we remember that the lodge of the Sun is the nest of Kawas, that she is here flying over the heads of the Children, bringing near to them the fulfilment of the promises of the Hako.

The whistle which accompanies this stanza represents the cry of the Children in recognition of the fulfilment which Kawas is bringing. With this song we complete the fourth circuit of the eagles and the eighth circuit of the lodge.

The songs of the next four circuits refer to the rites.

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represent the circle Tira'wa atius has made for the dwelling place of all the people. The circles also stand for the kinship group, the clan, and the tribe.

The down represents the light clouds near the dwelling place of Tira'wa—the dome of the sky over the dwelling place of the people—and it stands for the protection of Tira'wa. When there is no down to be had, white ashes can be used. I do not know what the ashes mean, but I think they are to make the outline distinct and to represent the white down.

The nests are four, because at the four directions are the paths down which the powers from above descend. The four winds guard these paths and protect the life of man.

After the four nests are made, the feathered stems are laid at rest.

The Ku'rahus then takes bits of fat which have been preserved from an animal consecrated to Tira'wa and puts them with some native tobacco into an oriole's nest and hands the nest to the chief, who conceals it in his hands.

The bits of fat represent the droppings that mark the trail made by the hunters as they carry the meat home from the field. This trail is called the path dropping fatness, and means plenty. Fat, therefore, stands for the promise of abundant food.

The oriole's nest is used because Tira'wa made this bird build its nest so that no harm could come to it. It hangs high, is skillfully made, and is secure. An eagle's nest may be torn away by a storm, but the oriole's nest sways in the wind and is not hurt.

Part II. Symbolic Fulfilment

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Now a robe is spread on the ground and the child is placed on it with his feet and legs projecting beyond the edge. Four men are appointed to carry the child. One goes on each side and takes hold of the robe and lifts it; a man at the back of the child steadies it as it is raised and carried, while the fourth man holds another robe over its feet and legs.

The chief and the Ku'rahus precede the child to the circle at the northwest, where it is held over the nest so that its feet rest within the circle. The chief puts his hands under the robe held over the child's legs and drops the oriole's nest within the circle so that the child's feet rest on it. No one but the chief and the Ku'rahus know what is being done beneath the robe. The chief takes up the nest, concealing it from view, and goes to the circle at the northeast, to which the child has also been carried, and in the same way places its feet on it. The same act is repeated at the circles in the southeast and the southwest.

The child represents the young generation, the continuation of life,

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to the Ku'rahus who taught me. Besides I had to promise him that I would not give the teachings away, but would hold them as they had been held, teaching them only to those who would pay me. I give these (incidental rituals) to you, so that they may be preserved and kept with all the other songs that belong to the Hako.

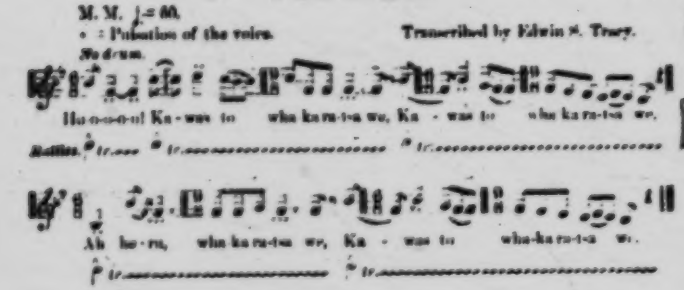
Long ago there lived a holy man who knew all the songs and the rites of this ceremony, and to him came a vision wherein he was taught how to bring comfort to a little child when, during the ceremony, it cried and could not be pacified. In this vision he was shown what he must do to bring comfort to the little child, and he heard the songs that he must sing. The songs which he heard have been handed down through many generations.

When during the ceremony a child cries and can not be comforted, the mother, or some one sent by her, can approach the Ku'rahus who carries the brown-eagle stem and ask him to come and quiet the child. The Ku'rahus must comply with this request, so he rises and stands before the holy place, takes up the feathered stem and sings this song, which tells the brown eagle, Kawas, that its baby is crying.

All the people hear the song and know that help for the child is being asked.

FIRST SONG

Words and Music



1302 Hoooooo!
1303 Kawas to whaka ratas we.
1304 Kawas to whaka ratas we.
1305 Ah here, whaka ratas we.
1306 Kawas to whaka ratas we.

Translation

1302 Hoooooo! An introductory exclamation.

1303 Kawas to whaka ratas we.,

Kawas, the brown eagle, representing the feminine principle.
to, its, denoting ownership of the child that is crying.
whaka, voice, noise from the mouth.
ratas, a high pitch, screaming.
we, personal pronoun; refers to the child.

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*533 *796 In this song we meet exclamations characteristic of many others of the ceremony. These exclamations express the emotions evoked in the progress of the appeal. Few words are used, their iteration making the memorizing of the song easier than if the emotion had been fully elaborated in many different words. This apparent poverty of expression, which may in part be accounted for by the necessity of oral transmission, has not prevented metrical forms throughout the ceremony; with one exception, the songs are rhythmic. In the present instance the repetition of the exclamation I'hare! extended through the musical phrase by the echoing of its syllables, conveys *533 even to the eye of a stranger the meaning as given by the Ku'rahus *539 in his explanation of line 2. "The repetition of the word as we sing *796 I'hare, 'hare, 'aheo indicates that our minds are dwelling upon the subject brought to our attention."

This opening song is in two parts. One refers to the powers, the other to the inauguration of rites through which man can turn toward these powers.

Six stanzas belong to the first part, suggesting the six symbolic motions, indicating the four directions, the above, and the below. The first stanza is an appeal to Tira'wa; its form is noteworthy when viewed in connection with the opening stanza of the second part. Tira'wa is not addressed directly, but the mind is turned to his place of abode, Awahokshu, as to a definite locality where prayer should be sent, whence help may come. The fixing of the mind upon a holy place serves as a precedent for the establishment of a holy place, 776 Kusharu (stanza VII), where man is to think of Tira'wa, and where *796 rites in accordance with his thought are to be performed. The *539 order in which the powers are addressed in these first six stanzas reveals something of the Pawnee's idea of man's relation to the supernatural. First, the holy place, the abode of Tira'wa, the father of all, is addressed; second, Hoturu, the invisible Wind, the bearer or giver of breath; third, Chakaru, the Sun, the father of strength; fourth, Ir'Uraru, the Earth, the mother, the conserver of life; fifth, Toharu, Vegetation, the giver of food; sixth, Chaharu, Water, the giver of drink.

*539 Starting from the abode of the central power, Tira'wa, designated *796 in the first stanza, the lesser powers bring to man first breath, next •773 vitality or strength, then the ability to conserve and use that strength, 776 and, finally, they give him food and drink to sustain his life. The physical man stands forth in these first six stanzas as the result of the gifts of the powers.

[*533] The second part of the song is in seven stanzas. The number sug- *796 gests the seven symbolic motions, indicating the four directions, the above, the below, and the center, the ego.

*539 The first stanza of the second part (VII) calls the people to "give heed" to Kusharu, the place set apart for sacred purposes. Concern-

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VIII

We heed as unto thee we call;
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, h'Akaru, abode of life!
We heed as unto thee we call.

IX

We heed as unto thee we call;
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, Kekaru, wall of defense!
We heed as unto thee we call.

X

We heed as unto thee we call;
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, Kataharu, center within!
We heed as unto thee we call.

XI

We heed as unto thee we call,
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, Kekaru, promise of fire!
We heed as unto thee we call.

XII

We heed as unto thee we call;
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, Koritu, wood of the fire!
We heed as unto thee we call.

XIII

We heed as unto thee we call;
Oh, send to us thy potent aid!
Help us, Hiwaturu, emblem of days!
We heed as unto thee we call.

PART II. PREPARING THE FEATHERED STICK

The first thing to be made is the feathered stem carried by the Ku'rahus. It represents the female element; it leads in the ceremony. Other sacred rites among the Pawnees explain this leadership as based upon the belief that life first took form through the female; "she was the first and the leader."

The stem is painted blue with blue clay mixed with running water. The running water, we are told, represents the continuation of life by generation following generation. The color is the symbol of the sky, the dwelling place of the powers.

The song which accompanies the act of painting is in five musical phrases, suggesting the five motions symbolic of the four directions and the above. The exclamation he! (a part of Ihare! give heed!), at the close of each phrase, bears out this interpretation.

The iterated words h'areri (h', breath; areri, a particular place) tell that the thoughts of the singers are fixed on the giving of life by

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men and women of the party with the ponies laden with gifts and needed supplies of food.

Over the wide prairie for miles and miles this order was preserved day after day until the journey came to an end. If from some distant vantage point a war party should descry the procession, the leader would silently turn his men that they might not meet the Hako party, for the feathered stems are mightier than the warrior; before them he must lay down his weapon, forget his anger, and be at peace.

No object met on the journey to the Son presented its ordinary aspect to the Hako party. Everything seen was regarded as a manifestation of the supernatural powers under whose favor this ceremony was to take place; hence the trees, the streams, the mountains, the buffalo were each addressed in song. This attitude toward nature is strikingly brought out in the two songs, which are in sequence, sung at the crossing of a stream.

Throughout this ceremony water is treated as one of the lesser powers. It is employed only for sacred purposes, and is never used in the ordinary way. To profane water would bring punishment upon the whole party (see the first ritual, line 29), and consequently when a stream ran across a line of travel no person could step into it as he commonly would do. A halt was called and the Ku'rahus led in the singing of the song in which Kawas is asked to grant the party permission to ford the stream. According to Pawnee rituals, water at the creation was given to the woman, so Kawas, representing the mother, could grant permission. The request is embodied in four stanzas. In the first the water touches the feet; in the second the feet stand in the water; in the third the feet move in the water; in the fourth the water covers the feet (note the resemblance of entering the stream to entering the lodge, seventh ritual, part 1).

After the stream was crossed the people halted on the bank to sing the song to the wind, led by the Ku'rahus. It also is in four stanzas. The wind is called upon to come and dry the water which the people may not irreverently touch. In the first stanza the wind touches the people; in the second it lightly brushes their bodies; in the third it circles about them; in the fourth it envelops them. Thus the wind, one of the lesser powers, comes between the people and the penalty incurred by profanely touching water.

In these ceremonies the people were constantly reminded that they were in the presence of the unseen powers manifested to them in the natural objects met upon the journey. To those initiated into the inner meaning of the rite, the appeal at the crossing of the stream to Kawas (the feminine element) and to the wind (typical of the breath of life) was connected with the symbolism of running water, explained in the seventh ritual as representing the giving of life from generation to generation.

The seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth songs originally belonged to the journey, but we are told the buffalo are no longer seen; neither

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The song (first) which accompanied this act is in three musical phrases and six stanzas. Again the symbolism of number, already noted, is suggested. 533* 796*

FIRST SONG.[a]

Diagram of Time

Rhythmic Repetition

I

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is standing here;
Behold, my child! waiting here to bring the gift of strength to you.
Give heed, my child. Look! Water waits to bring to you gift of strength

539* 796*

II

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is flying here;
Behold, my child! flying here to bring the gift of strength to you.
Give heed, my child. Look! Water flies to bring to you gift of strength.

III

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is touching here;
Behold, my child! touching here your head, to bring the gift of strength.
Give heed, my child. Look! Water, touching, brings to you gift of strength.

IV

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who now follows here.
Behold, my child! Now the paths it follows, paths where the gods dowsed.
Give heed, my child. Look! Water down the four straight paths brings its gift.

V

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is spreading here;
Behold my child! cleansing you, and spreading o'er you gift of strength.
Give heed, my child. Look! Water spreading over you gift of strength.

VI

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who has brought you strength.
Behold, my child! Strength you have and finished is the task.
Give heed, my child. Look! Water now has brought to you gift of strength.

Following the outline made by the water, the head and face of the child were next touched with grass, the representative of Toharu, the verdant covering of the earth. 796* [533*]

The song (second) sung during this act is in the rhythm of the first.

In these two acts we note that "the order in which the powers come near to man," shown in the opening song of the first ritual, is observed in this rite. In that opening song, after the Winds, the Sun, and the Earth had brought life to man, food and drink were given that his 773 796*

[a] Music on page 353.

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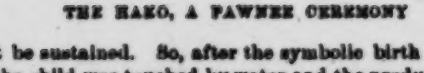
773 life might be sustained. So, after the symbolic birth in the lodge of
*796 the Sun, the child was touched by water and the product of the earth, that it might receive from them sustaining power.

SECOND SCENE.

Diagram of Time

*533
*796



Rhythmic Erudition

I

*539 Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is standing here;
*796 Behold, my child! waiting here to bring the gift of food to you.
Give heed, my child. Look! Grass now waits to bring to you gift of food.

II

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is flying here;
Behold, my child! flying here to bring the gift of food to you.
Give heed, my child. Look! Grass now flies to bring to you gift of food.

III

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is touching here;
Behold, my child! touching here your head to bring the gift of food.
Give heed, my child. Look! Grass now touching brings to you gift of food.

IV

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who now follows here.
Behold, my child! Now it follows the paths where the gods descend.
Give heed, my child. Look! Grass now down the four straight paths brings its gift.

V

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is spreading here;
Behold, my child! spreading plenty o'er you, promised gift of food.
Give heed, my child. Look! Grass is spreading o'er you gift of food.

VI

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who has brought you food.
Behold, my child! Food you have received, and finished is the task.
Give heed, my child. Look! Grass has now here brought you the gift of food.

PART II. ANOINTING THE CHILD

The order of the opening song is followed still further in the anointing of the child.

The seventh stanza of the opening song speaks of Kusharu, the holy place, set apart for the observance of rites. The Ku'rahus explained that "the first act of a man" must be to set apart such a place, "where new life could be given." Following this order, the child was anointed and by this act of consecration set apart as the center of the rites which were to follow.

The song of this act follows the rhythm of the two preceding.

* Music on page 319.

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NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The medicine men claimed to have received their power from supernatural sources and were organized into numerous societies. Linton states that "The function of the medicine men's ceremonies was threefold. By them they renewed their powers, drove disease from the village, and, by means of their sleight-of-hand performances, convinced the people that they really possessed the supernatural powers attributed to them."[9]

According to Miss Fletcher their "religious ceremonies were connected with the cosmic forces and the heavenly bodies. The dominating power was Tirawa, generally spoken of as 'father.' The heavenly bodies, the winds, thunder, lightning, and rain were his messengers. . . . The mythology of the Pawnee is remarkably rich in symbolism and poetic fancy, and their religious system is elaborate and cogent. The secret societies, of which there were several in each tribe, were connected with the belief in supernatural animals. The functions of these societies were to call the game, to heal diseases, and to give occult powers. Their rites were elaborate and their ceremonies dramatic."[11] Next in power to Tirawa was Evening Star, regarded as a woman, and below her was Morning Star, a warrior who drove the other stars before him across the sky. The child of these two deities was the first human being. In the west, Evening Star had a beautiful garden with fields of ripening corn and many buffalo, and from this garden sprang all the streams of life.

Next in rank to Evening Star and Morning Star were the gods of the four world-quarters who supported the heavens and who stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest and northwest, these being the sacred directions of the Pawnee. Dorsey states that "next to these gods in rank are the three gods of the north, supreme among whom is the North-Star, Kaririwari (One-who-does-not-move). Associated with him are Hutukawahar (Wind-ready-to-give) and Hikus (Breath). The North-Star is . . . symbolic of the chief . . . while his assistants, equally beneficent, sent the buffalo and the breath of life."[12] Below these in turn were Sun and Moon, from whose union sprang the second human being on the earth. This daughter, marrying the son of Morning Star and Evening Star, produced the human race.

The lesser gods of the heavens included Star of the South and Big-black-meteoric-star, who was the god of the medicine men. There were also earth gods organized into four lodges, each with its leaders and messengers, these gods being the special patrons of warriors and medicine men.

[9] Linton, Ralph. Annual ceremony of the Pawnee medicine men. Field Museum of Natural History, Leaflet No. 8, Chicago, 1923, pp. 19, 20.

[11] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

[12] Dorsey, op. cit., p. xix.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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in order that the music of the entire tribe may be represented. All these songs are combined in the analyses and the latter class, to some extent, affects the total numbers.

An important point, made evident in this comparative analysis, is the individuality of Pawnee music. It is distinct, in its entirety, from the songs of other tribes, though bearing a resemblance to one tribe or another in separate characteristics. The study of Indian music by an established system of analysis shows there are characteristics that are common to Indian songs of various tribes and different from the music of the white race, and also characteristics which distinguish the songs of one tribe from those of another. Among the former is the change of measure-lengths found in many Indian songs and the downward trend of the melody. The latter are indicated in the foregoing paragraphs. A characteristic of Pawnee music that evades, to some extent, the tabulated analysis, is its simplicity of both melody and rhythm. This can only be appreciated by a study of the melodies themselves. Pawnee music is the plainest of any thus far recorded in its rhythmic divisions and general content. This characteristic of the group may, however, be due to the absence of songs used in treating the sick, which are usually songs of complicated rhythms.

MORNING STAR CEREMONY

A sacred bundle of the Skidi Pawnee was associated with Morning Star and its ceremony was held in the early spring, having for its object the securing of good crops in the coming season. It was the writer's privilege to see the Morning Star bundle in the house of the woman who was its keeper, and also to see its contents exposed in the ceremony. The bundle, in accordance with custom, was hung on the west wall of its owner's house, and with it were hung four large gourds, symbolizing the four deities who were the special guardians of Evening Star and also representing the breasts of the two women in the west, Evening Star and Moon.[15]

The legend from which the Morning Star ceremony arose was related by Coming Sun, whose grandfather was a high priest in the Morning Star village and who received his name by inheritance from this ancestor. With Coming Sun's narrative is combined a limited number of details mentioned by Linton in "Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee."

As already stated, Morning Star ruled in the east and Evening Star in the west. All the stars west of the Milky Way were feminine and those to the east were masculine, but the most powerful were Morning Star and Evening Star. Sun was with the former and Moon was a companion of the latter. One after another the eastern

[15] Cf. Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, pp. 52-55.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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stars came to court the stars in the west, in order that man might be placed on the earth. Moon welcomed them and walked with them toward the west, but as soon as they came in sight of the village she caused the ground to open so the man fell through and was killed. At last Morning Star resolved to go and woo the great Evening Star, taking his little brother along to carry his pack. Thus, according to Coming Sun, a small star always appears near and slightly below the morning star in the spring, representing the little brother. Linton, however, states that Morning Star was accompanied by Sun, who carried a sacred bundle with a war club. 773

Ten obstacles were encountered by Morning Star and his companion, the first five being difficulties of travel, such as sharp flints and sword grass beneath their feet, and the last five being animals which attacked them, including the mountain lion, wildcat, buffalo, and bear. All these were placed in their way by Moon, who thought she could conquer them as she had conquered the others. But Morning Star carried a ball encased in such a manner that when he threw it the casing broke and it became a ball of fire. When throwing the ball he sang the following song, which was said to be one of the principal songs in the ceremony. Linton states that Morning Star struck the ground with his war club, closing the cracks made by Moon for his destruction, and that he sang a song with substantially the same words recorded by Coming Sun. [533*]

3; Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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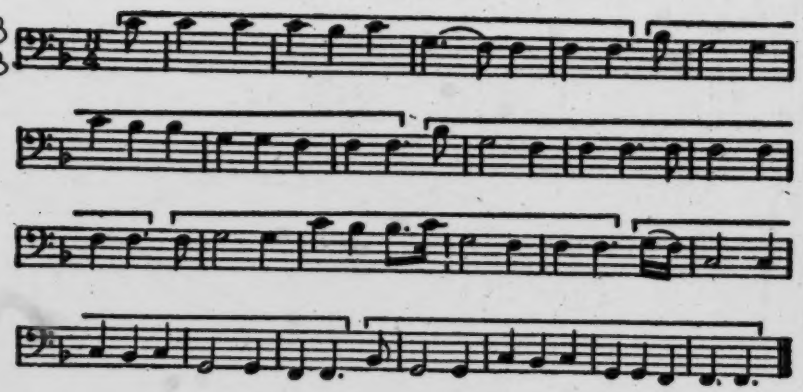
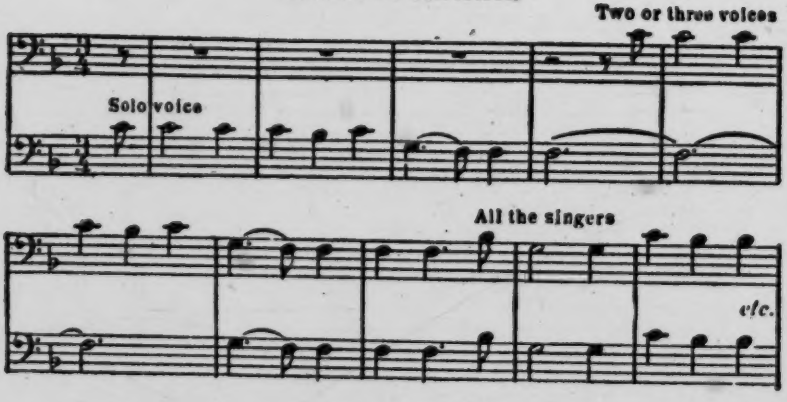
No. 1. Song of Morning Star (Catalogue No. 1162)

Sung by COMING SUN

*533
●773



Manner of rendition



FREE TRANSLATION

"This I did when I became angry, in order that in the future the earth might be formed." In later use the words "And I imitate this power" were added, referring to the persons using the song.

*533 [126 778] *Analysis.*—This song was considered too sacred for phonographic recording and was orally taught to the writer by Coming Sun. For this reason the metronome time is not indicated. The manner of singing this and other ceremonial songs is indicated in the transcription, one voice singing the opening phrase, and holding a low tone while two or three voices repeat the opening phrase, after which all the voices proceed in unison. This melody is an example of interval formation. The only tones are F, G, B flat, and C, and the principal progressions

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

are whole tones between B flat and C, and between F and G. A similar melodic form occurs in Nos. 5 and 53. This song is transcribed with the signature of the key of F and classified with songs lacking the third above the keynote. The repetitions of the rhythmic unit are six in number and comprise the entire melody. Slight differences in the note values of the rhythmic unit occur in the latter part of the song. 533

The tenth obstacle was not encountered by Morning Star until after he entered the lodge of Evening Star. The obstacle was a snake, but he overcame it, as he had overcome the others, by means of the ball of fire and the song. 773

Evening Star saw that his power was greater than hers, but she determined to hold him aloof as long as possible. Finally she insisted that he make provision for the child that should be born; she even required him to provide perfumed water for bathing the child and a cradle board in which it should be placed. On the hoop, or arch, of this cradle board was painted a morning star and the lightnings, this custom being followed by the Pawnee at the present time. Evening Star also required him to plant a tree in front of the lodge so that the mocking birds might nest there and sing to the child. From this union a daughter was born. She came down to earth and wandered about in fear. As she was running hither and thither she met a boy, the child of Sun and Moon, and these two became the ancestors of the human race. [854] [531]

Morning Star made a bundle and placed in it various articles connected with the obstacles he had overcome on his westward journey. He left this bundle with Evening Star and for that reason a woman has always been the keeper of the sacred bundle. Other articles have been added from time to time and will be noted in this paper. 778 773

It is said that Evening Star required a human sacrifice as her reward. This sacrifice must be a pure and beautiful maiden and she demanded that the sacrifice be repeated annually. Long ago, Morning Star sometimes appeared to a man in a dream and told him to secure a maiden for this sacrifice. According to Linton, a man who had this vision went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received the warrior's costume and the sacred objects kept for such an expedition. Other warriors joined him and, preliminary to the expedition, they enacted the journey of the Morning Star, and sang the song with which he overcame the obstacles placed in his way. (Cf. Song No. 1.) When the ceremony ended it was almost time for the Morning Star to rise and the leader went outside the lodge and addressed an invocation to him. After dancing furiously around their fire and offering a last prayer to Morning Star the warriors started forth and captured a maiden from the enemy. Returning, they gave 796 773 782 [787] 796 782

3; Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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*533 The next is considered one of the most valuable of the Buffalo dance songs. It was said to be concerning a buffalo and a crow. [TB] The buffalo heard the call of the crow and looked around thinking it might be an enemy, but he was not afraid of the crow.

Analysis.—The change of metric unit from a quarter to an eighth note is clear in all renditions of this song, the time being maintained with special regularity in the 5–8 and 7–8 measures. The first phase is introductory in character, and the dotted eighth notes at the beginning of the third and fourth measures give an effect of vigor to the opening of the song. No rhythmic unit occurs, the changes in measure-lengths giving variety to the rhythm. There is a wide variety of intervals, including a major sixth and a fifth as well as fourths, major and minor thirds and major seconds. The song contains the tones of the fourth 5-toned scale.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

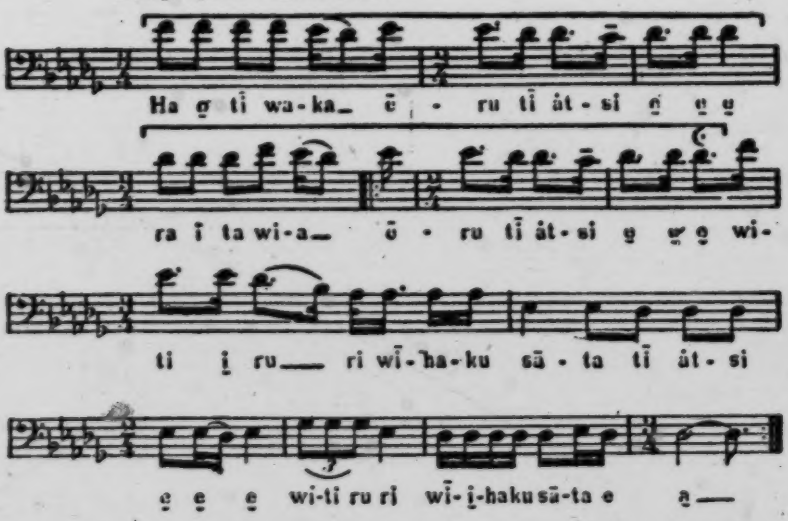
†533 ●[773] In the herd was a very old buffalo. He had been lying down and when he tried to rise he fell down again. He was too old and heavy to get up. The next song is concerning this buffalo.

No. 4. "My Dear Father the Buffalo"

(Catalogue No. 1112)

Recorded by WICITA BLAIN

Voice ♩ = 76
Drum ♩ = 132 Changing in fourth measure to ♩ = 76.
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2



Ha	tĭ	waka	ēru	tĭ	átsi[11]	ra	ĭ
Listen	it	said	dear	my	father	have	him
ta	wia	ēru	tĭ	átsi	witi		
do	tell about	dear	my	father	is		
ru	ri	wihaku	sāta	tĭ	átsi		
doing		heavy	going on	my	father		

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said,
My dear father (the buffalo),
This is what I was told about it,
He is heavy, he goes on (if he falls he can not rise),
My father (the buffalo).

[11] similar to atĭs and tĭats, occurring in other songs.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Analysis.—This song was recorded on two phonographic cylinders, the only difference in the renditions being in the opening phrase. The second renditions were the clearer and the transcription is from that group. The song opens with a three-measure phrase which is designated as a rhythmic unit. This is repeated, and is followed by two phrases in a different rhythm which bring the song to a satisfactory close. Although the song has a compass of 10 tones the largest interval is a fourth. About two-thirds of the progressions are whole tones. The melody contains all the tones of the octave. 533* [127]

An abrupt change in the tempo of the drumbeat occurs in the fourth measure. Other Buffalo and Bear dance songs containing a similar change are Nos. 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15. After this change the drum and voice apparently have the same metric unit but do not always coincide. The metric unit of an Indian's musical performance often contains variations too small to be indicated. Thus in the present instance it can not be said that the drum consistently follows or precedes the voice. The general tempo of each is measured by the metronome and it can only be stated that they do not exactly coincide throughout the renditions of the song.

This and the three songs next following were inherited by the singer from his grandfather and his father. The name of the former was Tida'kawidik (House-full-of-people) and the name of the latter was Kiwi'kude' epaku (Buffalo-fighting). In this song the singer's grandfather is represented as driving the buffalo in the hunt. It was said that he "rode a white horse and frightened the buffalo for other men to shoot." 533* 424 224 773

Analysis.—The change of tempo in the drum is similar to that described with the song next preceding. The drum and voice rarely coincide except on the word *wia*, wherever it occurs. The drumbeat at the close of the song is as follows: The drum ceases after the first stroke on the final syllable of *wia* and begins rapidly at the close of the last measure, continuing in that tempo until the voice begins the repetition of the song. There is no uniformity in the space of time between the renditions of the song. The only tones occurring in this song are D, E, G, and A, and its melodic form resembles that of No. 1. Except for an ascending ninth the only intervals are fourths and whole tones, the latter comprising more than three-fourths of the progressions. The rhythmic unit is long and occupies only a portion of the song. 533*

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

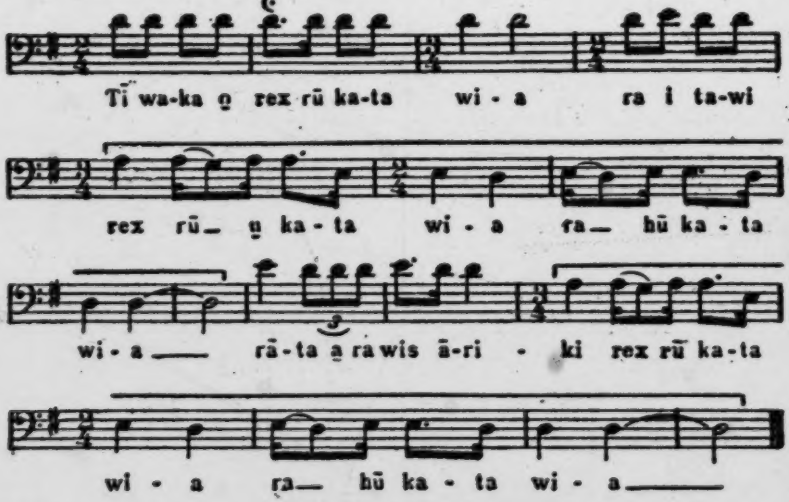
No. 5. "Yonder the Smoke Was Standing"

*533

(Catalogue No. 1109)

Recorded by WICITA BLAIN

Voice ♩ = 116
Drum ♩ = 132 Changing to ♩ = 116
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2



Tī	waka	rex	rū	kata	wia	ra	i
He	said	him	did	line	coming	have	him
tawi	rex		rū	kata	wia	ra	hū
tell about	him		did	line	coming	have	do
kata	wia		rāta	ra	wis		āriki
line	coming		yonder	have	smoke		standing
rex	rū	kata	wia	ra	hū	kata	wia
him	did	line	coming	have	do	line	coming

FREE TRANSLATION

He said, the man was coming along the line,
This is what I was told about it,
He was coming along the line,
Yonder the smoke was standing here and there,
He was coming along the line.

[773
224]

The information concerning the next song is incomplete. It was said the woman who imitated the buffalo was shot through the back but not killed; that she lived a long time afterwards, left Nebraska with the Pawnee Tribe and died in Oklahoma; but the reason for her action is not indicated.

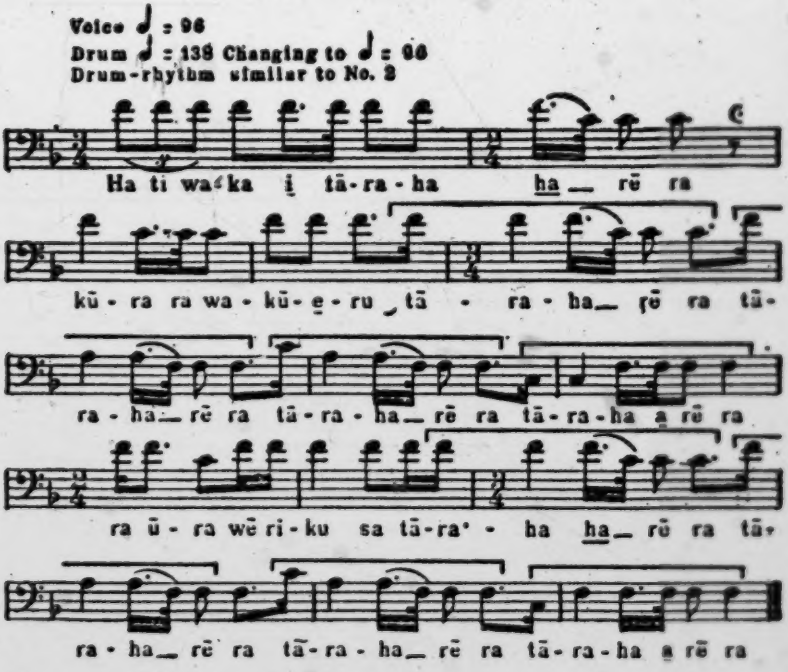
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 The next song is concerning a dream of buffalo by the singer's grandfather. He was in his lodge when he saw an animal approaching. In the distance he thought it was a horse, but when it came nearer he saw that it was a buffalo. That night he dreamed of a horse that turned into a buffalo and told him of many good things that would happen to him.

No. 7. "The Buffalo Are Coming"

(Catalogue No. 1115)

Recorded by WICITA BLAIN



Ha	tĭ	waka	tāraha	rē	ra	kūra
Listen	he	said	buffalo	yonder	coming	his
ra	wakūru	ra	ūra	wē	riku	sa
have	sayings	walking	have	do	stand	coming

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said, yonder the buffalo are coming,
These are his sayings, yonder the buffalo are coming,
They walk, they stand, they are coming,
Yonder the buffalo are coming.

Analysis.—This song is harmonic in structure and has a compass of 11 tones. The intervals are unusually large, only six being smaller than a fourth. It has been noted that the interval of a fourth appears

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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to characterize songs associated with animals and with motion. This interval comprises 14 of the 25 progressions in this song. The final tone is preceded by a fourth lower, as in No. 2. A rhythmic unit occurs several times and the characteristic count division of the unit occurs in the opening portion of the song.

Long ago an old man named Nara'dudesa'ru had a dream and in his dream he saw a cloud of dust rolling along the ground. He sat and looked at the dust a long time until late in the afternoon. Then it looked like a crowd of people, but after the dust storm had passed he saw a great herd of buffalo.

No. 8. "The Waves of Dust"

(Catalogue No. 1113)

Recorded by WICITA BLAIN

Voice ♩ = 76
Drum ♩ = 120
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2

Ha	tĭ	waka	ĭre	ra	waa [1]	kūra	ra
Listen	he	said	there	have	do coming	his	have
wakūru	ĭre	ra	waa	rū	tit	kahāru	
sayings	there	have	coming	did	dust	earth	
tĭku	ĭre	ra	waa	rūte	rax		
wave downward	there	have	coming	do	them		
wĭwari	hūsa						
wallow	marked place						

[1] This word signifies a great mass in motion.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said,
There the buffalo are coming in a great herd,
These are his sayings,
There the buffalo are coming in a great herd,
The waves of dust roll downward,
There the buffalo are coming in a great herd,
They mark the place of the buffalo wallow.

Analysis.—This melody contains only the tones E flat, F and B flat, except G which occurs as next to the last note. This occurrence of G, however, makes possible the classification of the song as major in tonality. The song has a compass of 9 tones and its progressions consist of 28 whole tones and 7 larger intervals. The opening portion of the song suggests a chant and is followed by a rest. This is succeeded by a 3-measure phrase with a clear-cut rhythm and a descending trend of 9 tones. After a repetition of the rhythmic unit the song returns to the whole tone progressions on the highest tones of the compass. This phrase is followed by a second rhythmic unit. In several renditions the portions of the song resembling a chant were sung softly, the singer changing to a loud tone at the beginning of the rhythmic phrases. The drumbeat was in the same tempo throughout this song, differing from other ceremonial songs in which the drumbeat was rapid in the opening measures.

*537 787 ●773 The next song is also concerning a dream of buffalo. The herd was scattered and a man was watching them. One of the buffalo lay down. The man wondered why the buffalo had lain down. That night he dreamed about the buffalo, who said that he had "taken pity" on the man. The buffalo promised the man that he would live to old age and be able to foretell events a long time before they came to pass.

*533 *Analysis.*—This song is unusual in containing no interval of a whole tone. It contains 30 progressions, 12 of which are semitones and 11 are minor thirds. The transcription is from the first rendition, the tempo of the drum changing abruptly on the fourth measure as in certain other songs of this group. The tempo of the voice increased during the latter portion of the rendition and in the subsequent renditions. Such hastening of the tempo is not customary among Indians and was probably due to agitation on the part of the singer, who was totally blind. The rhythmic unit is not distinctive but occurred several times.

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NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

song was sung twice. The connective phrase occurred between the second and third, and the fourth and fifth renditions. The song has a compass of nine tones, and progresses by whole tones except for three other intervals which occur only in downward progression. 533*

BEAR DANCE

There was no opportunity to witness this dance, and its details were not made a subject of inquiry. Ten songs of the dance were recorded, the first five by a member of the Chaui Band and the last five by a member of the Skidi Band. These two groups of songs are strikingly different in musical character. [123 126]

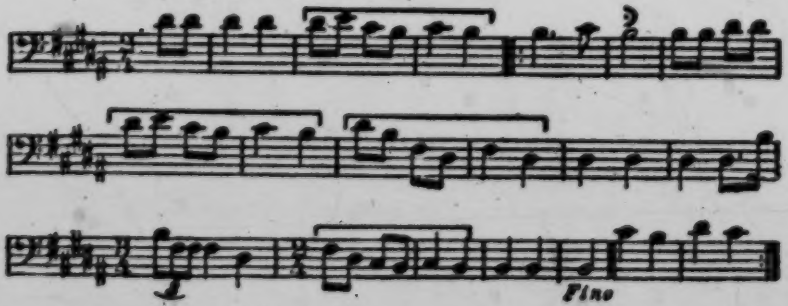
The next song was sung when all the participants in the Bear dance were seated. "Mother" was said to refer to the moon, and there was said to be a similar song containing the word "Father." A young man received this song in a dream, while mourning for his parents who had died. He saw a woman coming toward him, and said, "Mother is coming." The woman said," You have seen me, now you must learn this song." The young man learned the song, lived a long time afterwards, and took part in the Bear dance. When the song is used ceremonially there are six "stops" or verses, the general meaning of which is as follows: 533* 773● 787 533*

1. "Mother is coming."
2. The young man, devotional by nature, imagines that he is still mourning for his parents.
3. "Mother stands yonder."
4. The young man says, "Mother, standing in the sky, I want you to take pity on me."
5. "Mother now ends" (stands still).
6. "I will now say, I mean the mother who alone stands forever in the sky" (the moon).

No. 11. "Mother is Coming" (Catalogue No. 1117)

Recorded by WICITA BLAIN

Voice ♩ = 126
Drum ♩ = 138, changing to ♩ = 126
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 8



3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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*533 *Analysis.*—All the tones of the octave except the sixth and seventh occur in this song, which has a compass of 11 tones and is melodic in structure. It begins on next to the highest tone of the compass and ends on the lowest, which is the keynote. The rhythm is energetic and the phrases with continuously descending trend are somewhat unusual. The change in the tempo of the drum has been described in connection with other songs of this group.

773 825 *533 In the next song we have an expression of the belief that a bear derives his "medicine power" from the sun and that the center of that power is in his palms. He stands facing the dawn in order that the first rays of the sun may strike his paws, upheld for the purpose. In this manner he renews his power from the sun. (Cf. Song 16.)

An old man named Lata'piū, long ago, fell asleep, and when he awoke he saw a strange sight. The sun was rising and a bear was pointing at the sunrise. The old man made this song about his vision and whenever he saw the sunrise he sang the song. Ever since that time the song has been used in the Bear dance.

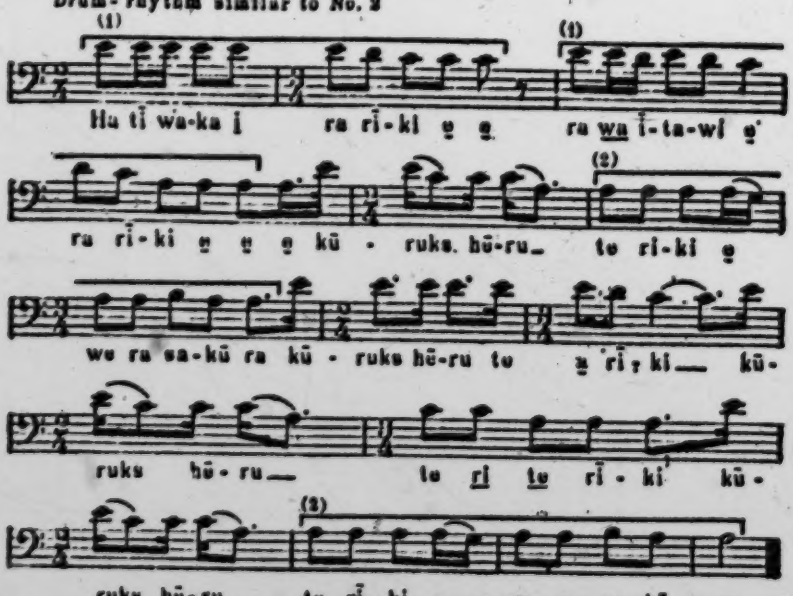
*533

No. 12. "The Bear is Pointing at the Sun"

(Catalogue No. 1119)

Recorded by WICITA BLAIN

Voice ♩ = 76
Drum ♩ = 132 Changing to ♩ = 76
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2



3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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tervals are fourths and major seconds. Drum and voice are different in tempo, each being maintained with regularity. 533*

No. 71. "Other Girls Are as Pretty as She"

(Catalogue No. 1101)

Recorded by EFFIE BLAIN

Voice ♩ = 112
Drum ♩ = 120
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2

A modern love song (not transcribed) was translated as follows: "That lady loves me. I bet she is thinking of me." It was said to be the song of a man already married who wanted the person mentioned in the song to elope with him. 533* 837

Songs of this class were preceded by the syllable *ee-ee* on a low tone in imitation of a flute. The informant said "the flute was courting medicine of a bad kind." [534]

MYTHS AND FOLK TALES

The Pawnee possessed many stories pertaining to the origin of sacred bundles and the doings of mythological persons. Concerning such stories Doctor Dorsey states: "These tales, as a rule, are told only during ceremonies, especially during the intermissions or pauses in the ceremony which occur from time to time between rites, or during resting periods in the chanting of a long ritual. During such intermissions anyone of those present may ask the priests for such a tale. Especially is it the privilege of the one who has made the ceremony possible, by providing the food for the sacrifice and feast, to ask that such a tale be related. These tales may also, under certain circumstances, be told outside the ceremonial lodge . . . and the chief object in relating them is to furnish instruction."[34] Such stories gradually passed into current knowledge and were told as folk tales by any member of the tribe without mention of their religious significance. 773 538

[34] Dorsey, The Pawnee: Mythology (Pt. 1), Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publ. No. 59, Washington, 1906.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

773 538 539 The first three stories of the following group are versions of old legends connected with the mythology of the tribe, while the fourth story in the group appears to be an ordinary folk tale. It differs from the others in that the entire narrative was sung. (Cf. Rudimentary Songs, Northern Ute music, pp. 200–205.)

539 In the first story we find an interesting resemblance to a story recorded in southern Arizona.[35]

Story of the Gambler

RELATED BY FANNIE CHAPMAN

In a certain village were two young boys. They were good-looking lads and wore their hair long on the right side of the head. One day the younger boy thought he would go to another village in the woods. When he came near this village he saw the smoke of a tipi that stood by itself among the willows. He went there and stood outside the entrance.

In this tipi lived an old woman and her three granddaughters. The old woman told the youngest girl to go outside and see if anyone was there. The girl saw the strange lad and returned, saying, "O grandmother, there is a good-looking young man outside." The old woman went to speak with him and said, "You had better go to some village where the people have more money. We are very poor." But the lad replied, "No. I came here and this is where I belong." The old woman said, "Well, come in," and the boy entered the tipi. Later the old woman said, "You had better go away for the chief of our band is very unkind to strangers. You must watch, for Long-nose (Coyote) will come before daylight to see if anyone is here. He will see you and tell the chief, who will ask you to breakfast. If he offers you dry pumpkin do not eat it, nor corn, nor mush. Bring it home with you."

Before daylight, as the old woman had predicted, Coyote came to see if anyone was in the tipi. The old woman said, "See my grandson, how good-looking he is. He ought to go where the big men are." Coyote ran at once to the chief and said, "O chief, there is a good looking young man down at the old woman's tipi. When you kill him he will be the leader of your heads." (Referring to a row of the heads of men killed by the chief that had been put in his tipi.) The chief said, "Run down to the old woman's tipi and bring the young man. I want to feast him." Coyote ran as fast as he could. The old woman saw him coming and again told the young man not to eat anything but to bring the food home. Coyote said to the young man, "You certainly are good-looking." When the chief saw the young man he said, "I sent for you to eat with me," and offered him dry

[35] Story of the Gambler, Papago Music, Bull. 90, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 53–54. Cf. also Dorsey, op. cit., pp. 185–191.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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539 rattles all the time. The Pawnee will hear him and kill us all. Make him stop." But the little snake kept on. He even went beside the road and rattled his rattle very loud.

One day a girl came along the road and the little snake thought she was a chief's daughter. He bit her foot and she turned quickly and crushed his head. The other snakes found him and the brother said, "Father, didn't I tell you that one of us would be killed? There is my little brother with his head smashed." That is the end of the story.

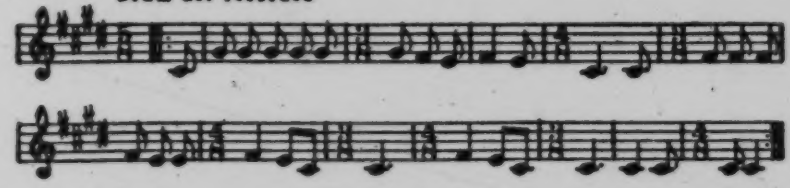
No. 77. The Little Rattlesnake

(Catalogue No. 1077)

Recorded by EFFIE BLAIN

T533
539

Voice ♪: 152
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—Six renditions of this song were recorded and the time values in all were as indicated in the transcription. The principal progression in the song is F sharp–E, followed by C sharp. Thus the tone material is practically the minor third and fourth, although the fifth occurs in the opening measure. The song begins and ends on the same tone, which is somewhat unusual in Indian songs.

UNCLASSIFIED SONGS

773 When the Pawnee first saw a horse they were frightened. Some
231 ran away and others said, "I wonder what he is dragging behind
825 him" (referring to his tail). A great crowd of people was looking at the horse. At last someone said, "Why are you afraid of this animal. He is very useful. He can carry you and your packs. You can get on him and he will take you from place to place so that you can kill game." Ever since that time the Pawnee have owned horses, and found that horses could work for them.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

631 778 796 represent the powers in the four quarters of the world and also stand for spring, summer, autumn, and winter, but in no fixed order, the season a bundle represents being determined by the order of the ceremony.

631 773 A brief abstract of the mythical account of the inauguration of this federation may make the foregoing clearer:—

[778] [796]

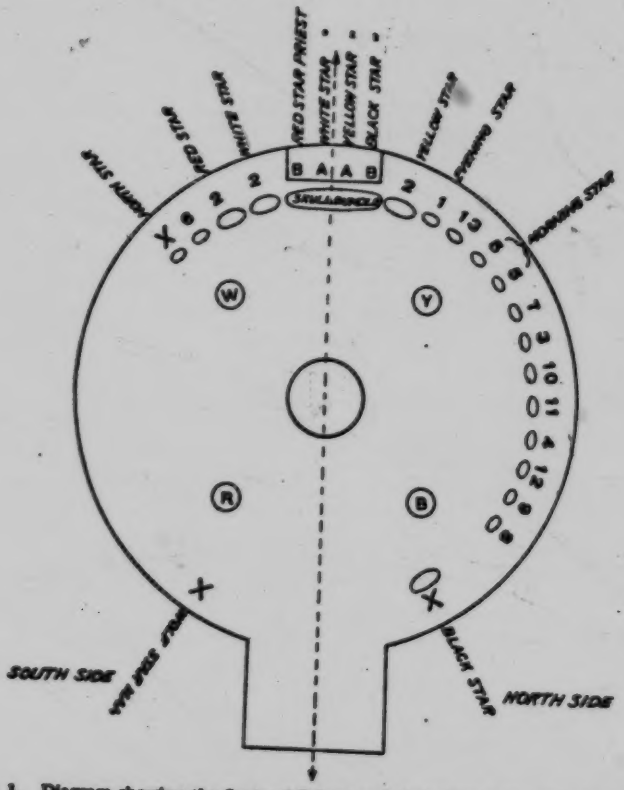


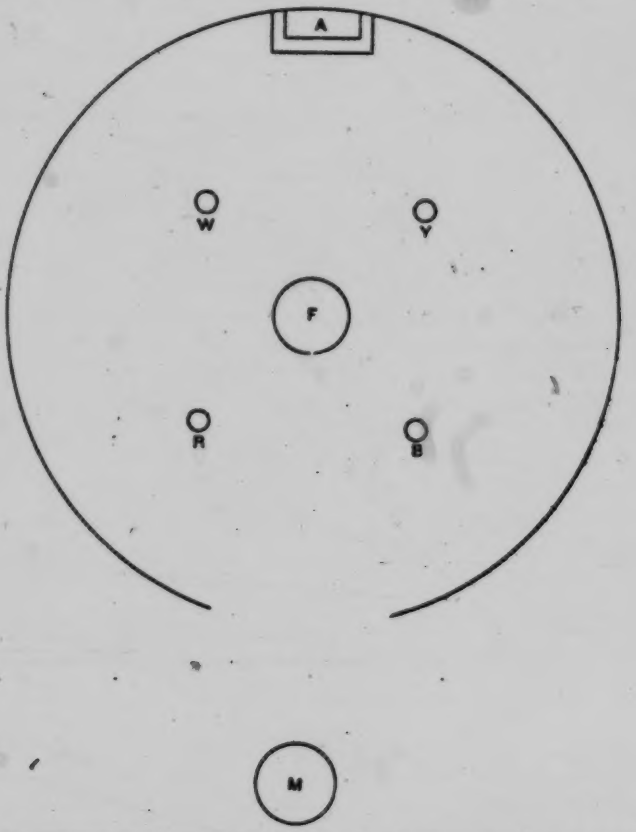
Fig. 1. Diagram showing the Seats of Priests and their Village Bundles, in the Four-pole Ceremony. The numerals are from the table of villages in the text. The places of the four main bundles and the special bundles are designated by their respective names.

Evening Star (Venus) is the keeper of the firesticks which she received when she married Morning Star (Mars). He was the ruling spirit to the east of the milky way. Evening Star was a beautiful woman and very powerful. She was opposed to the creation of the earth and man and had overcome all the stars seeking her in marriage. Supporting her were four great powers, or stars, the Bear, Panther, Wildcat, and Wolf. There was also a great serpent group of stars. Morning Star

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

overcame all of these in turn. Thus, he secured Evening Star. Then follows the familiar vanquishing of vaginal teeth. In course of time, a daughter was born. The earth was then created for the home of this child. The Sun and Moon became parents of a boy and he also was placed upon the earth.

631
773



[346]
[778]
[796]

Fig. 2. Diagram of the earthwork Enclosure for the Four-pole Ceremony: A, altar for the buffalo skull; W, white pole (cottonwood); Y, yellow pole (willow); R, red pole (box alder); B, black pole (elm); F, fire pit; M, earth taken from the fire pit. During the ceremony a screen of green branches is set up inside the embankment. The poles are young trees trimmed to a few branches at the top. The seats and positions of bundles were as shown in Fig. 1.

After many years when the people were numerous, Morning Star demanded a human sacrifice as a return for his trials. Evening Star gave one man and woman directions for making the Yellow Calf bundle. Then Evening Star told him that there were many people scattered over the earth and that he should call them to-

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

631 773 gether. So Errand Man was sent out. From each village came the people with their sacred bundle. Errand Man told the chief that upon Elkhorn River he found a village of earth-lodges covered with squash vines in which a bundle ceremony was going on in consequence of which they refused to come. Also on Looking Glass Creek he came to a village where the people had just performed a ceremony to call the buffalo and as the buffalo were at hand, they could not accept the invitation. Most of the buffalo were killed upon the ice which during the day was covered with water. The wolves stood around the carcasses and many were caught by the feet as the ice formed at night. So these two villages did not take part in the general bundle ceremony and were known as the Squash Vine and Wolf-standing-in-the-water.

Those who had assembled now performed the four-pole ceremony. The keeper of the bundle and his priest occupied their regular seats at the back of the lodge and as the bundles of other villages arrived those from the north took seats on that side and those from the south upon the other. The village of the host was then called Center Village.

622 631 The special federation of these Skidí villages necessitated a governing organization different from that of the other divisions. The governing body was a society of chiefs, twelve or more in number. It seems that in principle there was to be one chief for each village bundle, though as such he had nothing to do with the bundle. When the chiefs society met in a lodge they took their seats in the same order as indicated in the diagram of the four-pole ceremony, but the bundles were not brought into the lodge. [202] Two errand men were members and sat by the door.[1] The chiefs were of equal rank and inherited their office. However, there was some selection, for the elderly men filled vacancies from those directly descended from chiefs. All the chiefs taken together constituted the tribal council of the Skidí.

631 793 The chiefs are, however, not the highest authority, that distinction belonging to the priests of the four main bundles. Their office is hereditary; each priest selects an assistant from his near relatives who thus becomes qualified to become priest in turn. In rotation the four leading priests take over the responsibility for the welfare of the people for one year, counting from the first thunder in the spring until fall. This chief priest is the highest authority; he is the source of final appeal and to him all acts of the council of chiefs must be referred. The buffalo hunt in particular must be regulated according to the ritual of the bundle whose priest happens to be in charge. As noted above, the Red Calf bundle is superior to the leading bundles, but its priest cannot exercise authority except he be

224 631 778 793

[1] As noted above, two villages refused to join in the federation. Later, they were taken in and their chiefs were given seats in the vacant place on the south side of the lodge, but they were not permitted to enter the four-pole ceremony.

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575 for war. In fact, this is the society that is called upon to police the buffalo hunt and in this capacity the members conduct themselves as described above. As an organization it is the counterpart of the Skidí two lance society.

The Thunderbird Lance.

The raris kuhat, or thunderbird lance society is found among the Skidí and the Squash Vine people. The following account is from data supplied by the Skidí.

[825] In winter the members procure the thunderbird (in this case the swan, though outsiders are led to believe it to be the eagle) which is skinned by the leader as in the case of the preceding society. The feathers are plucked, leaving the down upon the skin, and with this the lance is wrapped at the renewing ceremony in the spring. This society is never called upon to act [721] as police in the buffalo hunt, but for leadership and defense in war; in this respect whatever was said of the preceding society, applies equally well here. The point of the lance is of flint stone because this stone is believed [821] to be related to the thunders since it is said that such will be found where- [823] ever the lightning strikes. Thus, this stone lance head symbolizes the power to strike down a person before he is aware of danger.

As stated before, the trophies of victory may be turned over to this society that they may inaugurate the victory dance and as it progresses, the whole is turned over to the women. In former times, it was the custom for the sexes to mingle freely without restraint and during the dance.

In the Squash Vine village the lances were wrapped with loonskin instead of swan and loon heads were placed on the end of the curved top; also some loon feathers. On the sinew string were soft down feathers. Four old men were taken in to recount the deeds of the members.

The Crow Lance.

The hatuʰka society was found among each of the four divisions but not in the independent villages. It was everywhere the same, except that the [184] peculiar feature of tying the members together was practised by the Skidí alone. In all cases this society was the last to renew in the spring, disband in the winter, to leave the line of battle, to follow the camp, etc.

The following account applies particularly to the Skidí: —

575 The name usually given this society is hatuʰka (those coming behind), so named 773 because of their peculiar custom of marching at the extreme rear of the tribal procession. The society is said to have been handed down by the crows but in reality

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

was derived from blackbirds, the kind that feed around grazing horses and buffalo. 575
A long time ago a hunter was walking along a ravine. Presently he heard war cries 773
and shouting. He was badly scared and ran, but the cries still pursued him. Becoming tired, he took his stand, bow in hand, for the enemy seemed near, singing and shouting. Finally, they came up. He heard one division going on one side of him, another on the opposite side, and stood ready to shoot down the first man to appear. But as they passed by he saw only flocks of crows, blackbirds, and packs of wolves. He saw no human beings among them. Yet he sat down and watched because he felt sure that they were human and that they had a lance among them.

He noticed that the birds came together as also did the wolves. The birds flew upward in a circle and then took a position resembling a lance, so the man thought. Then he fell asleep and dreamed of a blackbird. In his dream the blackbird told him that all that had happened was merely a test of his bravery. At first, he had appeared cowardly, but finally proved his courage. The birds and animals had decided to give him a lance with which he could originate the hatu^{h}ka society. The birds would teach him the songs, but there would be no dancing. The lance was to be of ash, hooked at the end, and wrapped with the tanned skin of a bull calf. Crow feathers which the birds would give him were to be attached at intervals, while the whole was to be daubed with white clay. The blackbird said that the man would obtain a medicine root for the use of the society. When painting, only soot was to be used. Thus, in his dream he was taught all the details of the regalia and practices of the hatu^{h}ka society.

When the man awoke he proceeded to the place where he had seen a tall weed which he took to be the medicine promised him. Here he gathered up the crow feathers which he took home. He did not tell the people of his vision on the plains. Instead, he wrapped the feathers and the medicine root in a piece of tanned buffalo hide which he tied to one of the lodge poles on the inside. At night he filled his pipe; first he gave a whiff to Tirawahat, a few whiffs to the birds, and then smoked nonceremonially.

That night he dreamed again. He saw a line of singing men all daubed with soot. They were strung along a buffalo rope drawn through their belts. When he awoke he sang a peculiar song which aroused the curiosity of the other people. Again and again he dreamed of the same men and each time learned a new song. One time he sat in his lodge singing the songs he had learned and was joined by another man who learned them from him. They in turn were joined by others from time to time.

When quite a number knew the songs, the man told them his dream experiences and announced his intention of organizing the society about which he had dreamed. He told them it would be difficult, as evidenced by the songs they already knew; that bravery was necessary; that they should know no fear of death; and that they were to act as protectors of the tribe. In their ceremonies, two rattles were [534]
to be used. Drums were not permitted. Each member had a quiver with bow and arrows slung over his shoulder.

The society owned a buffalo hide rope. Each member was compelled to provide 575
a crow feather for the lance so that it would have a claim upon his bravery. The lance had to be covered with tanned buffalo calf skin.

The members of the society did not act as soldiers. Instead they were strung together in battle and marched in the rear of the tribe on all occasions.

While on a buffalo hunt they procured all the necessary paraphernalia. On their return to the village the new members met at the originator's lodge to sing the songs

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MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

In connection with this work certain bits of information came to hand that seem of sufficient importance to record. For these the Editor is chiefly responsible. 776 825

Animal Guardians. Every child while in the womb, at some time, through either parent as a medium, is brought under the power of an animal. This may be discovered in life by the actions of one in illness. The doctors seem able to recognize the affinity and take only such cases as fall within their individual powers. These guardians are usually animals, but trees have been known, also stars, thunder, etc.

Black Moccasins. Anyone who had performed the ceremony of consecrating buffalo four times, could wear black moccasins. These were ceremonial and only worn at the bundle and other sacred ceremonies. 292 796

Calling the Buffalo. At the time of the buffalo hunt one man is selected to make medicine while the kill is on. Among other things, he sits in the lodge or tipi as the case may be, and makes sweeping motions with his hands. After the kill he goes out and selects such carcasses as he desires. 224

Camp Circle. The camp circle was not used by the Pawnee until the ghost dance development. When so used, the tipis were pitched according to the north and south side only, and not according to the bundle scheme. Although tipis were in use long ago when on the hunt, it is denied that a circular or any definite camp form was observed. 361

Chiefs and Medicinemen. Chiefs and members of their families must pray to tirawahat himself and to all in the heavens, never to animals, and what is below. Medicinemen pray to the latter and especially to water animals for from them come their chief powers. The chiefs get their powers through the band bundles, but the medicinemen have nothing to do with these. They form distinct classes and seldom meet or have social intercourse. The people believe that both are equally powerful in magic, but otherwise have their distinct powers and functions. Thus it is said, that at one time a chief and leading medicineman quarreled. The chief called on tirawahat to destroy the medicineman while the medicineman called upon the animals to destroy the chief. Clouds formed in the heavens at the call of the chief and the medicineman was struck by lightning. The chief was glad and after the rain went to the creek to swim. When he jumped into the water, a sharp stick struck him in the side, passing through his body. He also died. After this occurrence, the chiefs and medicinemen never quarreled. (See Dorsey's Skidi volume, 185.) 622 756 782 [565] [773]

5: Dorsey & Murie E,I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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lineal reckoning. Finally, there is the possibility that descent may have altered during the long period of white contact. In any case, if the villages formerly tended to be endogamous, the question of descent in the village group would arise only as the result of infrequent inter-village marriages.]

Each village possessed a sacred bundle of its own, except that one village, the Four-Band village, had four such bundles. Where it has been possible to obtain the legend telling the origin of a village it appears that a star, or a group of stars, was responsible for the birth of the founder, or founders, of a village. The sacred bundle of the village either was given to the founder by the star or was made by the founder according to instructions from the star. The bundle itself was owned by the village chief, though his wife was the keeper, and a priest took charge of the rituals connected with it.

[The ceremonies associated with these sacred bundles gave each village a separate and distinct unity and also brought it into the ceremonial organization of the band as a whole. However, two Skidi villages never entered completely into the larger organization of the band. The complex ceremonial life of the Skidi is not fully elucidated in the Dorsey-Murie manuscript, but, so far as I can determine, the sacred bundle ceremonies fell into the following categories: (1) Those ceremonies that were the exclusive property of individual villages and were performed in connection with the individual village bundles; (2) those that related to the band and centered around two bundles belonging to the whole band, not to a single village; and (3) a group of ceremonies, including an annual cycle, that involved both village and band bundles, and were also considered as referring to the welfare of the band generally. Of this last group the ceremonies associated with the four bundles of the Four-Band village were of great importance.

According to a statement in the manuscript, the names of the villages and the names of the bundles were not the same and formerly had nothing to do with each other. Some of the villages were extinct and their bundles gone by 1907, and it apparently proved impossible to obtain a complete list of the names of the thirteen villages, as well as those of their respective bundles. In some cases, either the village or the bundle name had been forgotten. This gave rise to some confusion, for apparently some of the villages were remembered by their bundle names, and some of the bundles by their village names. It is probably for this reason that the village names published by Dorsey (1907b) and Murie (1914) do not entirely

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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IV. KINSHIP

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The Skidi recognized ten primary forms of blood relationship. These were conceived as having divine origin, for it is claimed that Tirawa said that a woman shall have a grandmother, a mother, a grandchild, a sister, and a child; and a man shall have a grandfather, a father, an uncle, a nephew, and a brother.

There follows a table of relationship terms:

MALE SPEAKER

Skidi term	Descriptive term
atias	father
	father's brother
	father's father's father
	mother's mother's father
	father's sister's son
atira	mother
	mother's sister
	father's brother's wife
	father's sister
	father's sister's daughter
	father's father's mother
atipat	father's father
	father's sister's husband
	mother's sister's husband
	mother's mother's husband
atika	mother's mother
	father's mother
tiwasiriks	mother's brother
irari	brother
	father's brother's son
	mother's sister's son
itahi	sister
	father's brother's daughter
	mother's sister's daughter
tiwat	sister's son
	sister's daughter
pirao	son
	daughter
	brother's son
	brother's daughter
	mother's brother's son
	mother's brother's daughter
ruktiki	son's son
	son's daughter
	daughter's son
	daughter's daughter
	sister's son's son
	sister's son's daughter
	sister's daughter's son
	sister's daughter's daughter

5: Dorsey & Murie E,I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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kill her, and after he had followed her a long distance she changed herself back into a woman. They lived together for several years. In the meantime it was thought that the man had been killed. Finally she accompanied him to his village as his wife, where she gave birth to twins, a boy and a girl. They grew up and took their proper places in the village. At first the deer wife disliked living in the village and often tried to run away, but afterwards she became reconciled and gave birth to other twins. Thereafter her descendants in the female line always gave birth to twins, and from this woman are supposed to be descended all the twins ever born among the Skidi.

Finally, it may be noted that a pregnant woman could come near the ceremonial contests where the medicine-men threw their medicine "arrows" at each other. Ordinarily she might be a very powerful medicine-woman and be able to protect herself from the "arrows" of her opponents, but during this period her thought and mind were on her child and consequently she could not ward off the "arrows," which would fly to her and kill her.

On the first indication of labor the husband left the lodge and did not return to his wife for four days, as his presence during this time was thought to increase the difficulty of birth. The husband continued to observe the restrictions on his conduct, such as abstention from hunting, which were in force during the period of pregnancy. Also he unbraided his hair and wore it loose, for it was believed that Tirawa wore his hair in this manner when he was creating the universe.

With the approach of labor the wife herself selected an old woman, who was usually a medicine-woman or the keeper of a sacred bundle, to be midwife. The latter came, bringing her medicine bag and a wooden bowl in which to wash the child. Sometimes the bowl was covered with representations of a dog, goose, deer, or some other animal, so that when the child grew up it would possess the magic power of the animal depicted. On arriving at the lodge, the midwife brought in some fresh earth and spread it upon the floor. Over this she put a thick covering of soft grass. The flow of blood following delivery could thereby be absorbed by the earth and grass and the whole easily removed. Next several parfleches were piled for a head-rest, and the pregnant woman was laid in the place prepared for her.

With the beginning of labor the mother was given some medicine by the midwife and told that it would relieve her and make for an easy birth. Should the woman give birth before the arrival of

5: Dorsey & Murie E,I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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MEDICINE-MEN

Like the chief and the priest, the medicine-man held a position of honor among the Skidi. His office was supposed to have been created by Tirawa immediately after he had instituted the office of chief, at which time Tirawa said: "I shall give you (chief) a companion who will understand certain beings who command all the spirits of the earth. He shall learn from them the different curative powers, and shall be your equal, but he will not command, for it will be his duty to wait on the sick." At this time Tirawa gave the medicine-man the blue clay he wore over his body during ceremonies, the wing of a black eagle to be used in his left hand, and a gourd rattle to be held in his right.

The medicine-men derived their powers from supernatural beings who were usually identified with animals. At birth a child came under the influence of a supernatural being—a particular star shining especially bright—who was supposed to manifest himself later in the child's life. Usually this manifestation occurred when the child fell ill, at which time medicine-men were sent for. When the right one appeared, he could cure the child, for he possessed the power from an animal which in turn had received its power from the star noted above. Thus the child was made aware of the particular animal guardian which was to influence his career. When he grew to be a young man he might become a medicine-man through a supernatural experience during which power was given him directly by his guardian, or, as was more common, he applied for instruction to some medicine-man who had received power from the same guardian. With the latter's consent, the young man became his pupil, paying for the knowledge received. [Further details regarding medicine-men have been published by Linton, 1923b.]

In many ways the medicine-men ingratiated themselves with the people. One of the best examples occurred during the fall performance of the great ceremony of the Skidi medicine-men. On the first night they visited all the village lodges containing sacred altars, and on the following night made a general tour of the village offering their services free of charge.

THE COMMON PEOPLE

This group probably represented less than one-half the members of the band. They were distinguished by the fact that they were without influence or power, their lodges were smaller and not so completely furnished, they had few or no ponies, and were often the objects of charity.

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
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made as a result of some sign in the star itself, as when it appeared especially bright, or in years when there was a comet in the sky. It might also be performed without any direct intervention of the Morning Star, if some warrior had captured a suitable victim.

In this ceremony there was, coupled with the idea of sacrifice, an attempt to repeat the acts performed by the Morning Star in ancient times. These acts are recorded in a number of myths, not always consistent, of which the following is a good example:—

LEGEND

A long time ago Tirawa made the stars and gave them great power. He gave most of his power to the Morning star, who had a younger brother, the Sun. The Morning Star helped the Sun to have light. When Tirawa placed the stars in the heavens, they were just like human beings. In the east he placed those stars which were like men and gave the Morning Star and the Sun rule over them. In the west he placed those which were like women, with the Evening Star and the Moon as their rulers. Each had their village in the heavens, and the eastern stars knew that the western stars were women. After awhile some of the eastern stars sought the western stars in marriage. When the women stars saw a man star coming, they would tell the Moon, and she would go out to meet him. She would ask him why he came, and he would say, "I come to marry one of the women." She would answer, "That is what we want, come with me." They would walk together till they came in sight of the village. Then the Moon would stop and make a motion, and the ground would open so that the man star fell through and was killed. At last the Morning Star decided to go. He took with him his younger brother, the Sun, who carried upon his back a sacred bundle with a war club. As they traveled, the Morning Star went before

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
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539 the Sun just as he still does. After a while they came
773 within sight of the Evening Star village. They sat down and placed the sacred bundle in front of them. From where they sat, they could see the women stars playing all sorts of games outside their village. After a while the Moon came to them as she had come to the others. She asked, "Why do you come here?" The Morning Star said, "It is now time that we mingle and become one people. It is not right for part of us to be on the west and part on the east side." She said, "Good. I am glad you came and brought that bundle which you have in front of you. My thoughts are about that bundle." She invited them to come to the village, and they rose and followed. When they had gone a little way, she stopped them, and the Morning Star saw that the ground under them was cracking. The Moon called to them, "Come on! Are you afraid?" The Morning Star answered, "No. I am determined to have you." He took the war club from his younger brother and sang:—

"I become myself when I become angry.
With the war club I strike the earth.
I strike the ground and undo the power of the Moon."

Then he struck the ground, and the cracks closed up, and it became firm. The Moon cried, "These are powerful men. They have destroyed my mother." By her mother she meant the power which was her own. Her powers had been given her by the Evening Star.

After the first obstacle, they went on until they came to a bed of flints too sharp to be walked over, then to a thick wood of locust trees, then to a place where it was very hot, then to a bed of cactus, then to a long stretch of sword grass. At each of these obstacles the Morning Star sang his song and struck the ground with his war club so that the obstacle disappeared. When they had passed these dangers, they

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
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came to magic animals which attacked them, first snakes, then water animals, then buffalo, and last bears. Each of these in turn the Morning Star killed with his club. Then the Moon had no more powers left, and the Morning Star and the Sun entered the village of the women stars. The Morning Star married the Evening Star, and the Sun married the Moon. They took them back to their own village. After a time a child was born to each couple, and these children were placed on earth. They married, and from them sprang the human race.

The Moon put all these obstacles in the way of the Morning Star, because she did not want the people on earth, in after times, to live forever. All these obstacles were sicknesses and troubles which would be brought down upon the people. But the Morning Star and the Sun can give power to men to destroy these ills just as they themselves destroyed the obstacles.

It has already been said that the sacrifice was most commonly made as a result of a dream or vision in which the Morning Star demanded it. Immediately on waking in the morning, the man who had had the dream went outside his lodge and began crying and mourning, his cries gradually becoming a song. He sang:—

"When he comes.
When he comes.
Father, I am seeking for you."

By this song he let the people know that he had seen the Morning Star in a vision.

It is said that the man who had had the vision sometimes did not obey the Morning Star, but more often he could neither sleep nor rest until he had captured a maiden for sacrifices. As soon as possible after the vision he went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received from him the warrior's cos-

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black, and symbolized the northeast; and its animal guardian, the bear. The second was red, symbolizing the southeast and the wolf. The third was yellow, symbolizing the northwest and the mountain lion; and the fourth white, symbolizing the southwest and the wildcat. The top cross-bar represented the west, and was painted blue or black and white, symbolizing clouds and rain.

By the time the scaffold was completed, it was about sunset, and the people dispersed. All spectators were sent out of the lodge, and the door was closed. The chief priest then drew upon the floor of the lodge four circles, one for each of the world quarters, and outlined them with white downy feathers. Each of these circles represented a region penetrated by the Morning Star in his search for the Evening Star and also the magic animal which he had overcome there. The white feathers symbolized the foam about their mouths when they attacked him. When the circles had been made, the spectators were re-admitted, and the priests sang a song descriptive of the journey of the Morning Star, while the chief priest danced around the lodge with a war club, destroying the circles one by one. When the song was finished, he straightened up and said, "Chiefs, priests, warriors, old men, I have destroyed the regions once controlled by the mysterious woman who wanted darkness forever. These animals were under her control, when the Morning Star traveled in darkness looking for her. She placed an obstacle in the southeast, which was controlled by the wolf. The Morning Star destroyed this obstacle, but preserved the mysterious animal. He continued his journey, traveled to the southwest, and again met an obstacle which he destroyed, but preserved the animal, a wildcat. He continued his journey, and when he came to the northwest, he again met an obstacle. He des-

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796 troyed it, but preserved the animal, a mountain lion.
773 He went on to the northeast, and again destroyed an obstacle, but preserved its guardian, the bear. In the center of the earth in darkness he found the woman, conquered her, touched her with his war club, and turned her into the earth. The Morning Star then called the mysterious animals to him and said, "You beings are now under my control. Stand in the places where I found you, and watch over the people who shall be placed upon the earth and guard them. All powers you have you shall keep. You shall exist as long as the earth lasts. You are now placed as upright posts so that you will always hold up the heavens. Priests, chiefs, warriors, old men, I have this night followed the journey of the Morning Star. We will not forget these beings which he placed in the four directions, for he promised that they should partake of all offerings which the people made to the heavens. Let us begin singing the songs given to us by Mother White Star in the west (the Evening Star)."

533 When the chief priest had finished his speech, all
796 began to sing the prescribed songs, resting and smok-
782 ing informally after each. Like most ceremonial songs, these were long, with many repetitions, and were often
[211] obscure in meaning. As each song was finished, a tally stick, taken from a bunch kept in the sacred bundle, was laid down. The idea underlying this part of the ritual seems to have been that the girl at first belonged to the people and to the world of human affairs, but that, as each song was sung, she became more removed from them until, when the last tally was laid down, she had been won from the people, like a prize in a game, and belonged to the gods.

The singing usually lasted until about two hours
727 before dawn. A priest then climbed on the roof of the
782 lodge and announced to the people that the girl was
796

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connected with the ceremony remained at the scaffold. 782
When the crowd had gone, the guardian removed the 796
arrows from the body one by one and handed them to an assistant who divided them into four bundles and laid these bundles northeast, northwest, southeast, and southwest of the fireplace. The body was then taken down and carried a short distance to the east of the scaffold, where it was laid face down. The sacred arrow was drawn from its heart and laid upon it. All then returned to the village, and the place was [766] avoided for some time.

It was believed that the soul of the girl left her 775
body at the moment she was struck with the club and 782
went straight to Tirawa, who sent it to the Morning Star. The Morning Star clothed it with flint from his fireplace in the dawn and placed it among the stars in the heavens. Her body was thought to be not like ordinary bodies. Even after her death it possessed life. Things would be born from it, and the earth would be fertilized by it.

The sacrifice as a whole must be considered as a 773
dramatization of the overcoming of the Evening Star 782
by the Morning Star and their subsequent connection, 796
from which sprang all life on earth. The girl upon the scaffold seems to have been conceived of as a personification or embodiment of the Evening Star surrounded by her powers. When she was overcome, the life of the earth was renewed, insuring universal fertility and increase.

Human sacrifices were rare among the North 171
American Indians. The practice is known to have 782
existed among the Natchez, who lived in the present state of Mississippi, and possibly in Arizona and New Mexico. In Mexico, on the other hand, the idea was highly developed, and under the Aztec rule large numbers of victims were immolated every year. It may be

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wished, and in this way the women learned his secrets and became able themselves to practice medicine. The origin of the medicine societies is described in the following legend:—

"Once there was a man who lived alone, and did not mingle with the rest of the tribe. One night he had a wonderful dream. He dreamed that he stood on the bank of a wide river, and that a water monster came to the surface and spoke to him. He was so much impressed by this dream that he decided to seek for the river. He had several pairs of moccasins made, filled them with dried meat and parched corn, and started out, traveling eastward. He traveled for many days until he came to a great stream of water which he called Kits-ta-rux-ti ('the Wonderful River'). He stood upon the bank looking down, and all at once the water monster he had seen in his dream rose to the surface. It was very large and long. On its head was hair of many colors, and around its mouth were many-colored feelers. It did not speak to him, but dived, and the man leaped into the river after it. He found himself in a lodge of animals. Beside the altar were an owl and a beaver, while all the other animals sat around in a circle. Near the entrance were two ponds and by each of these two big geese. In the west of the lodge sat a woman. The water monster which had led him to the lodge of the animals lay to the south of the entrance, and acted as spokesman for the other animals. He said, 'My son, I come to you from the Big Waters. I was sent to you by Tirawa to instruct you and to tell these animals to instruct you in their mysteries. When you go home, tell your people to make an image of me and lay it in the lodge as I am now lying. The fireplace you see is not a fireplace, but a wonderful turtle. The woman sitting in the west is not a woman, but a thing of clay. She is a witch woman. The geese that stand by the ponds, when they flap their wings, make a noise

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that can be heard in the heavens. Their noise wakens the gods to a remembrance of their promise to pity mankind and give them power.'

"When the water monster had told the man these things, the other animals came forward one by one, and also taught him their mysteries. When all had finished, the water monster told the man to go home and build a lodge like the lodge he was then in. He was to live in this lodge alone, and the water monster would come to him in his dreams and tell him what to do next. The man left the animals' lodge and went home. He built himself a lodge of willows, and in it he made an image of the water monster. The image was complete except for one thing. The monster had something white on its head, and the man did not know what to use for this. In the night the monster came to him in a dream and told him that he must go upon a high hill and catch eagles. He was to dig a pit three or four feet deep and cover it with branches. He must then kill several rabbits, skin them, and lay them on the branches. He was then to crawl into the hole and wait there until an eagle came down to seize the rabbits.

"The man did all this and he was crouching in the hole when he heard a noise like the wind. He looked up through the branches and saw it was an eagle flying down to get the rabbits. When it settled and began to eat, the man slipped his hand between the branches and grasped its legs. He drew it down into the pit and wrung its neck, then straightened the branches and waited for another. After a time a second came, and he killed that also. Then he carried them home and stuck their downy white feathers on the head of the image with blue mud. The image was thus completed.

"Every night after this the man slept in the lodge with the image and had dreams of the monster. In these dreams the monster told him how the cere-

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monies of the medicine lodge were to be performed. At last it told him to prepare for another journey. He must go east again, but to a different place, and there the animals would give him many things. The next day the man set out and went east until he came to the place where Freemont, Nebraska, now is. There he camped on the high bank of the Platte River. 539 773

"There was an island in the river, and the man saw, as soon as it was dark, that sparks of fire were coming up from it. He heard mysterious noises of drumming, singing and shouting, and then the rhythm of a dance. In the water he could see fish swimming about with fire in their mouths. He watched and listened for a long time, then he fell asleep. The island was another lodge of the animals, and when he awakened, he found himself inside. In the lodge he saw the beaver, the owl, the otter, the ermine, the bear, the buffalo, the wolf, the mountain lion, the wild cat, and all sorts of birds. He stayed with them for many days, and they taught him more mysteries. At last they told him to go to a nearby hill where they had cleared a site for a medicine lodge. The deer led him from the animals' lodge and put him safe on the dry land. When he came to the place for the medicine lodge, he found everything ready. All the animals had cleared away the grass. The badgers had dug the holes for the posts, the beavers had cut them down and peeled them, and the bears and mountain lions had carried them up the hill. The animals helped him to raise the framework and told him how to lay on the willows and grass and cover the whole with earth. They then told him to return to his village and to tell the chiefs to bring the people to the new place, which had been selected for them by the animals.

"When the man arrived at the village, he sent some one to ask the chiefs to come to his lodge. When they had entered it, he told them that he had a mes-

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539 sage for them from the animals. They were to bring
723 the village to the new place. The man told what the animals had done for him, and how they had built a new kind of house, and wanted the people to live in houses of this sort and keep in them the sacred things which they would give them. Before the animals made this house, the Skidi did not know how to build earth lodges. The chiefs listened to him and were glad. They said they would obey the animals.

"That night the man dreamed that, before the tribe set out for their new home, they must tear down the walls of his willow lodge and take the image of the monster and set both up in the river, just as they had been set up on dry land. By this they would show the animals in the water that they were trying to do as they had been told. When they had done this, they broke camp and moved down the river to the new place. They made their camp just to the east of the lodge the animals had built. All the people helped him to finish it in the way the animals had told him. When it was completed, he burned sweet grass in it to make it a sweet-smelling place.

"That night there were great noises heard in the island which was close to the village. The man waited in the new lodge, and the animals came and told him what to do next. They said that opposite the entrance of the lodge was to be the holy place. He was to dig a fire place and model around it a turtle with its head toward the east, its tail toward the west, and its legs toward the four world quarters. He was to make another image of the monster and lay it with its head and tail near the entrance and its body running around the lodge. He was also to make an image of the witch woman, like that he had seen in the first animals' lodge, and place it in the west. Lastly he was to tell the people to kill different kinds of birds and hang their skins from the posts of the lodge. The people helped

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him to do all these things. When the lodge was ready, he went down to the river and waited until night. The animals took him into their lodge once more, and there he saw the loon standing in front of the altar and several loon skins lying at one side. The animals gave these to him and told him how they were to be set up, and taught him certain songs he was to sing.

"The man lived alone in the lodge for a long time. The animals came to him from the river at night and took him around over the country, showing him the different roots and herbs and telling him their uses. After a while he invited a few other men to come to his lodge and instructed them in the mysteries which had been taught him by the animals. In this way they also became medicine men. They stayed in the lodge, and whenever they went out, they painted themselves with blue clay and put eagle-down on their heads. Two of their number were selected as messengers and servants. One of these wore the skin of the magpie, and the other that of a muskrat for the magpie and muskrat were the errand men of the animals' lodge.

"In the autumn, when the crops had been gathered, and many buffalo had been killed, these first medicine men invited other men of the tribe to come to the lodge and learn the mysteries. These men were told to leave the village, purify themselves, and fast for four days. When they came to the medicine lodge, the man who had built it sang a song and recited a ritual, and then told them to go to the river bottom and cut young willows and cotton woods. One man he sent to the east to cut a cedar tree. They brought the trees to the lodge and with the willows and cottonwoods they made little lodges around the inside of the large building. The cedar tree was set up to the north of the entrance, and a little lodge of cedar bows was built on the south side. When the lodges were finished, the leader of the medicine men called a man from each lodge to him and

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539 gave him the skin of the animal which was to be the
● 773 guardian of that lodge. The men stayed in the little lodges, fasting and singing until they fell from exhaustion, and went to sleep. When this happened, the leader took the skin of the animal to whose lodge the man belonged and laid it on him. This animal would tell the man in a dream what he was to do. When he awoke, he would tell his dream and would find that he could do this thing.

"After this had gone on for some time, the leader selected a night to have the mysterious dance. Before they commenced, he stood in front of the altar of loon skins, given him by the animals, and called the men to him one by one. He embraced each and breathed into his mouth. Then he went and sat by the altar. He had taught them a song, and now each man put on the skin of his guardian animal and began to sing this song and dance. At a certain place in the song every one of them fell to the ground as if shot. When the song was ended one of the men got up. He saw something lying beside him that looked like a small oval fragment of clear ice. Each of the other men found a thing of the same sort beside him, and all of them laid these things in a line on the west of the fire place. The leader told them that these things had been given to them by the animals. They must swallow them, and then they would have the power to hypnotize and influence the people. They did this and returned to their small lodges.

"They stayed in the big lodge for several days more, trying their powers and doing all sorts of sleight of hand. When the last day of the ceremony came, they all dressed up according to the animal that was their guardian. They went out and marched around the lodge once, with two men carrying loon skins from the altar in the lead. Then they entered the lodge again and crowded around the fire place, stamping to

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awaken the turtle. Then they passed out of the lodge, dancing, and each man imitating his guardian animal. As they went, they did all sorts of sleight of hand so that the people could see they had magic powers. When they had shown their powers to the people, they entered the lodge once more and sang songs and imitated the cries of their guardians. They made a great commotion so that the people outside could see ashes flying up through the smoke-hole. That night they did more sleight of hand tricks in the lodge, and sang and worked magic until about two o'clock in the morning. Then they tore down the little lodges and carried them and the images of the water monster and witch woman down to the river. As they went along, they shouted and sang and hypnotized one another. They threw the mysterious things that gave them hypnotizing power into one another, and the men who were struck fell down as if shot. The rest of the village looked on, and were mystified by the wonderful things they did. When they came to the river, they put the little lodges and the images in the water in the positions they had had in the big lodge.

"When they had returned to the medicine lodge, the leader told them that they were to hold dances in the winter and spring and after the first thunder, but they were not to show their powers or do sleight of hand at these times. The great dance was to be in the fall, and then they would do sleight of hand, and work magic of all sorts and renew their powers. He told them to go back to their families and build themselves earth lodges like the medicine lodge. He went on living alone in the medicine lodge.

"The people lived in that place for a long time, and every fall they built new images in the medicine lodge and had their ceremonies. Each time the ceremonies lasted two or three months. Other men found other animals who gave them powers; and when the lodge

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was in session, they would come in and ask the medicine men to help them, and they would give them a place in the lodge. In this way the society grew. People from other bands also heard about it and came begging to learn the mysteries. The medicine men taught them, and they went back to their own people and started other medicine lodges."

The ceremonies of the historic medicine lodge agreed in a general way with those last described in the legendary account of its origin, but there were several features not mentioned in the story just given. The preparations for the great fall ceremony were begun while the people were still on the spring buffalo hunt. At this time the leading medicine men selected two members of the society to make two bows and four arrows. When these were completed, they were given to two other medicine men with instructions for one to kill a bull and the other a cow. The animals had to be killed with a single arrow, but it is said that because of the magic powers of the arrows the hunters never failed to do this. The bull's hide was to be used to cover the head of the water-monster image, the cow's hide to cloth the figure of the witch woman. Two more buffalo, also a bull and a cow, were then killed in the same way, the hide of the former being saved to make an image of the Morning Star, and that of the latter, to make nine small images which represented the important heavenly gods. When the buffalo had been killed, the bows and arrows were returned to the leading medicine men who placed them among their sacred objects.

On the return from the hunt, the four leading medicine men went to the medicine lodge and ordered that it be cleared for the ceremony. The same lodge seems to have been used for the ceremony year after year, but was occupied as a dwelling between ceremonies,

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and when day came, he looked all along the edge of the rock for a place where it might be possible to get down. At last he found near the edge of the cliff a point of the soft clay rock sticking up above the level of the rest. The side of the rock below it was straight up and down, and smooth. At night he took his knife, and began to cut about the base of this point of rock, and night after night he kept at this until he had cut away the base of the point, so that it was no larger around than a man's body. Then he secretly took all the lariats that the party had, and tied them together, and let them down, and found that his rope was long enough to reach the ground. He put the rope around the point, and made a loop in it for his feet, and slowly let himself down to the ground. He got there safely, and then climbed back again. The next night he called his men about him, and told them how it was, and that they might all be saved. Then he ordered the youngest and least important man of the party to let himself down, and after him the next youngest, and so on, up to the more important men, and last of all the leader's turn came. He let himself down, and they all crept through the Sioux camp and escaped.

They never knew how long the Sioux stayed there watching the rock. Probably until they thought that the Skidi had all starved to death.

FOLK TALES

THE DUN HORSE

I

MANY years ago, there lived in the Pawnee tribe an old woman and her grandson, a boy about sixteen years old. These people had no relations and were very poor. They were so poor that they were despised by the rest of the tribe. They had nothing of their own; and always, after the village started to move the camp from one place to another,

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these two would stay behind the rest, to look over the old camp, and pick up anything that the other Indians had thrown away, as worn out or useless. In this way they would sometimes get pieces of robes, worn out moccasins with holes in them, and bits of meat.

Now, it happened one day, after the tribe had moved away from the camp, that this old woman and her boy were following along the trail behind the rest, when they came to a miserable old worn out dun horse, which they supposed had been abandoned by some Indians. He was thin and exhausted, was blind of one eye, had a bad sore back, and one of his forelegs was very much swollen. In fact, he was so worthless that none of the Pawnees had been willing to take the trouble to try to drive him along with them. But when the old woman and her boy came along, the boy said, "Come now, we will take this old horse, for we can make him carry our pack." So the old woman put her pack on the horse, and drove him along, but he limped and could only go very slowly.

II

The tribe moved up on the North Platte, until they came to Court House Rock. The two poor Indians followed them, and camped with the others. One day while they were here, the young men who had been sent out to look for buffalo, came hurrying into camp and told the chiefs that a large herd of buffalo were near, and that among them was a spotted calf.

The Head Chief of the Pawnees had a very beautiful daughter, and when he heard about the spotted calf, he ordered his old crier to go about through the village, and call out that the man who killed the spotted calf should have his daughter for his wife. For a spotted robe is *ti-war'-uks-ti*—big medicine.

The buffalo were feeding about four miles from the village, and the chiefs decided that the charge should be made from there. In this way, the man who had the fastest horse would be the most likely to kill the calf. Then all the warriors and the young men picked out their best and fastest horses, and made ready to start. Among those who prepared for the charge was the poor boy on the old dun horse. But when they saw him, all the rich young braves on their fast horses pointed

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at him, and said, "Oh, see; there is the horse that is going to catch the spotted calf"; and they laughed at him, so that the poor boy was ashamed, and rode off to one side of the crowd, where he could not hear their jokes and laughter.

When he had ridden off some little way, the horse stopped, and turned his head round, and spoke to the boy. He said, "Take me down to the creek, and plaster me all over with mud. Cover my head and neck and body and legs." When the boy heard the horse speak, he was afraid; but he did as he was told. Then the horse said, "Now mount, but do not ride back to the warriors, who laugh at you because you have such a poor horse. Stay right here, until the word is given to charge." So the boy stayed there.

And presently all the fine horses were drawn up in line and pranced about, and were so eager to go that their riders could hardly hold them in; and at last the old crier gave the word, "*Loo-ah*"—Go! Then the Pawnees all leaned forward on their horses and yelled, and away they went. Suddenly, away off to the right, was seen the old dun horse. He did not seem to run. He seemed to sail along like a bird. He passed all the fastest horses, and in a moment he was among the buffalo. First he picked out the spotted calf, and charging up alongside of it, *U-ra-rish!* straight flew the arrow. The calf fell. The boy drew another arrow, and killed a fat cow that was running by. Then he dismounted and began to skin the calf, before any of the other warriors had come up. But when the rider got off the old dun horse, how changed he was! He pranced about and would hardly stand still near the dead buffalo. His back was all right again; his legs were well and fine; and both his eyes were clear and bright.

The boy skinned the calf and the cow that he had killed, and then he packed all the meat on the horse, and put the spotted robe on top of the load, and started back to the camp on foot, leading the dun horse. But even with this heavy load the horse pranced all the time, and was scared at everything he saw. On the way to camp, one of the rich young chiefs of the tribe rode up by the boy, and offered him twelve good horses for the spotted robe, so that he could marry the Head Chief's beautiful daughter; but the boy laughed at him and would not sell the robe.

Now, while the boy walked to the camp leading the dun horse, most

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of the warriors rode back, and one of those that came first to the village, went to the old woman, and said to her, "Your grandson has killed the spotted calf." And the old woman said, "Why do you come to tell me this? You ought to be ashamed to make fun of my boy, because he is poor." The warrior said, "What I have told you is true," and then he rode away. After a little while another brave rode up to the old woman, and said to her, "Your grandson has killed the spotted calf." Then the old woman began to cry, she felt so badly because every one made fun of her boy, because he was poor.

Pretty soon the boy came along, leading the horse up to the lodge where he and his grandmother lived. It was a little lodge, just big enough for two, and was made of old pieces of skin that the old woman had picked up, and was tied together with strings of rawhide and sinew. It was the meanest and worst lodge in the village. When the old woman saw her boy leading the dun horse with the load of meat and the robes on it, she was very much surprised. The boy said to her, "Here, I have brought you plenty of meat to eat, and here is a robe, that you may have for yourself. Take the meat off the horse." Then the old woman laughed, for her heart was glad. But when she went to take the meat from the horse's back, he snorted and jumped about, and acted like a wild horse. The old woman looked at him in wonder, and could hardly believe that it was the same horse. So the boy had to take off the meat, for the horse would not let the old woman come near him.

III

That night the horse spoke again to the boy and said, "*Wa-ti-hes Chah'-ra-rat wa-ta.* To-morrow the Sioux are coming—a large war party. They will attack the village, and you will have a great battle. Now, when the Sioux are drawn up in line of battle, and are all ready to fight, you jump on to me, and ride as hard as you can, right into the middle of the Sioux, and up to their Head Chief, their greatest warrior, and count *coup*[1] on him, and kill him, and then ride back. Do this four times, and count *coup* on four of the bravest Sioux, and

[1] An explanation of this term is found on p. 111.

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kill them, but don't go again. If you go the fifth time, may be you will be killed, or else you will lose me. *La-ku'-ta-chix*—remember." So the boy promised.

The next day it happened as the horse had said, and the Sioux came down and formed in line of battle. Then the boy took his bow and arrows, and jumped on the dun horse, and charged into the midst of them. And when the Sioux saw that he was going to strike their Head Chief, they all shot their arrows at him, and the arrows flew so thickly across each other that they darkened the sky, but none of them hit the boy. And he counted *coup* on the Chief, and killed him, and then rode back. After that he charged again among the Sioux, where they were gathered thickest, and counted *coup* on their bravest warrior, and killed him. And then twice more, until he had gone four times as the horse had told him.

But the Sioux and the Pawnees kept on fighting, and the boy stood around and watched the battle. And at last he said to himself, "I have been four times and have killed four Sioux, and I am all right, I am not hurt anywhere; why may I not go again?" So he jumped on the dun horse, and charged again. But when he got among the Sioux, one Sioux warrior drew an arrow and shot. The arrow struck the dun horse behind the forelegs and pierced him through. And the horse fell down dead. But the boy jumped off, and fought his way through the Sioux, and ran away as fast as he could to the Pawnees. Now, as soon as the horse was killed, the Sioux said to each other, "This horse was like a man. He was brave. He was not like a horse." And they took their knives and hatchets, and hacked the dun horse and gashed his flesh, and cut him into small pieces.

The Pawnees and Sioux fought all day long, but toward night the Sioux broke and fled.

IV

The boy felt very badly that he had lost his horse; and, after the fight was over, he went out from the village to where it had taken place, to mourn for his horse. He went to the spot where the horse lay, and gathered up all the pieces of flesh, which the Sioux had

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539 cut off, and the legs and the hoofs, and put them all together in a pile.
773 Then he went off to the top of a hill near by, and sat down and drew
● his robe over his head, and began to mourn for his horse.

As he sat there, he heard a great wind storm coming up, and it passed over him with a loud rushing sound, and after the wind came a rain. The boy looked down from where he sat to the pile of flesh and bones, which was all that was left of his horse, and he could just see it through the rain. And the rain passed by, and his heart was very heavy, and he kept on mourning.

And pretty soon came another rushing wind, and after it a rain; and as he looked through the driving rain toward the spot where the pieces lay, he thought that they seemed to come together and take shape, and that the pile looked like a horse lying down, but he could not see well for the thick rain.

After this, came a third storm like the others; and now when he looked toward the horse he thought he saw its tail move from side to side two or three times, and that it lifted its head from the ground. The boy was afraid, and wanted to run away, but he stayed.

And as he waited, there came another storm. And while the rain fell, looking through the rain, the boy saw the horse raise himself up on his forelegs and look about. Then the dun horse stood up.

V

The boy left the place where he had been sitting on the hilltop, and went down to him. When the boy had come near to him, the horse spoke and said, "You have seen how it has been this day; and from this you may know how it will be after this. But *Ti-ra'-wa* has been good, and has let me come back to you. After this, do what I tell you; not any more, not any less." Then the horse said, "Now lead me off, far away from the camp, behind that big hill, and leave me there to-night, and in the morning come for me;" and the boy did as he was told.

And when he went for the horse in the morning, he found with him a beautiful white gelding, much more handsome than any horse in the tribe. That night the dun horse told the boy to take him again to the place behind the big hill, and to come for him the next

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morning; and when the boy went for him again, he found with him a beautiful black gelding. And so for ten nights, he left the horse among the hills, and each morning he found a different colored horse, a bay, a roan, a gray, a blue, a spotted horse, and all of them finer than any horses that the Pawnees had ever had in their tribe before.

Now the boy was rich, and he married the beautiful daughter of the Head Chief, and when he became older, he was made Head Chief himself. He had many children by his beautiful wife, and one day when his oldest boy died, he wrapped him in the spotted calf robe and buried him in it. He always took good care of his old grandmother, and kept her in his own lodge until she died. The dun horse was never ridden except at feasts, and when they were going to have a doctors' dance, but he was always led about with the Chief, wherever he went. The horse lived in the village for many years, until he became very old. And at last he died.

THE BEAR MAN

THERE was once a young boy, who, when he was playing with his fellows, used often to imitate the ways of a bear, and to pretend that he was one. The boys did not know much about bears. They only knew that there were such animals.

Now, it had happened that before this boy was born his mother had been left alone at home, for his father had gone on the warpath toward the enemy, and this was about five or six months before the babe would be born. As the man was going on the warpath, he came upon a little bear cub, very small, whose mother had gone away; and he caught it. He did not want to kill it because it was so young and helpless. It seemed to him like a little child. It looked up to him, and cried after him, because it knew no better; and he hated to kill it or to leave it there. After he had thought about this for a while, he put a string around its neck and tied some medicine smoking stuff, Indian tobacco, to it, and said, "*Pi-rau'*—child you are a *Nahu'rac;*

539 773 *Ti-ra'-wa* made you, and takes care of you. He will look after you, but I put these things about your neck to show that I have good feelings toward you. I hope that when my child is born, the *Nabu'rac* will take care of him, and see that he grows up a good man, and I hope that *Ti-ra'-wa* will take care of you and of mine." He looked at the little bear for quite a long time, and talked to it, and then he went on his way.

When he returned to the village from his warpath, he told his wife about the little bear, and how he had looked at it and talked to it.

539 773 843 When his child was born it had all the ways of a bear. So it is among the Pawnees. A woman, before her child is born, must not look hard at any animal, for the child may be like it. There was a woman in the Kit-ke-hahk'-i band, who caught a rabbit, and, because it was gentle and soft, she took it up in her hands and held it before her face and petted it, and when her child was born it had a split nose, like a rabbit. This man is still alive.

539 773 This boy, who was like a bear, as he grew up, had still more the ways of a bear. Often he would go off by himself, and try to pray to the bear, because he felt like a bear. He used to say, in a joking way, to the other young men, that he could make himself a bear.

After he had come to be a man, he started out once on the warpath with a party of about thirty-five others. He was the leader of the party. They went away up on the Running Water, and before they had come to any village, they were discovered by Sioux. The enemy pursued them, and surrounded them, and fought with them. The Pawnees were overpowered, their enemies were so many, and all were killed.

The country where this took place is rocky, and much cedar grows there. Many bears lived there. The battle was fought in the morning; and the Pawnees were all killed in a hollow. Right after the fight, in the afternoon, two bears came traveling along by this place. When they came to the spot where the Pawnees had been killed, they found one of the bodies, and the she bear recognized it as that of the boy who was like a bear. She called to the he bear, and said, "Here is the man that was very good to us. He often sacrificed smokes to us, and every time he ate he used always to take a piece of food and give it to us, saying, 'Here is something for you to eat. Eat this.'

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Here is the one that always imitated us, and sung about us, and talked about us. Can you do anything for him?" The he bear said, "I fear I cannot do it. I have not the power, but I will try. I can do anything if the sun is shining. I seem to have more power when the sun is shining on me." That day it was cloudy and cold and snowing. Every now and then the clouds would pass, and the sun come out for a little while, and then the clouds would cover it up again.

The man was all cut up, pretty nearly hacked in small pieces, for he was the bravest of all. The two bears gathered up the pieces of the man, and put them together, and then the he bear lay down and took the man on his breast, and the she bear lay on top of it to warm the body. They worked over it with their medicine, and every now and then the he bear would cry out, and say, "*A-ti'-us*—Father, help me. I wish the sun was shining." After a while the dead body grew warm, and then began to breathe a little. It was still all cut up, but it began to have life. Pretty soon the man began to move, and to come to life, and then he became conscious and had life.

When he came to himself and opened his eyes he was in the presence of two bears. The he bear spoke to him, and said, "It is not through me that you are living. It was the she bear who asked for help for you, and had you brought back to life. Now, you are not yet whole and well. You must come away with us, and live with us for a time, until your wounds are healed." The bears took him away with them. But the man was very weak, and every now and then, as they were going along, he would faint and fall down; but still they would help him up and support him; and they took him along with them, until they came to a cave in the rocks among the cedars, which was their home. When he entered the cave, he found there their young ones that they had left behind when they started out.

The man was all cut up and gashed. He had also been scalped, and had no hair on his head. He lived with the bears until he was quite healed of his wounds, and also had come to understand all their ways. The two old bears taught him everything that they knew. The he bear said to him, "None of all the beings and animals that roam over the country are as great and as wise as the bears. No animal is equal to us. When we get hungry, we go out and kill something and eat it. I did not make the wisdom that I have. I am an animal, and

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534 I look to one above. He made me, and he made me to be great. I am
773 made to live here and to be great, but still there will be an end to my days, just as with all of us that *Ti-ra'-wa* has created upon this earth. I am going to make you a great man; but you must not deceive yourself. You must not think that I am great, or can do great things of myself. You must always look up above for the giver of all power. You shall be great in war and great in wealth.

"Now you are well, and I shall take you back to your home, and after this I want you to imitate us. This shall be a part of your greatness. I shall look after you. I shall give to you a part of myself. If I am killed, you shall be killed, If I grow old, you shall be old.

"I want you to look at one of the trees that *Ti-ra'-wa* made in this earth, and place your dependence on it. *Ti-ra'-wa* made this tree (pointing to a cedar). It never gets old. It is always green and young. Take notice of this tree, and always have it with you; and when you are in the lodge and it thunders and lightens, throw some of it on the fire and let the smoke rise. Hold that fast."

The he bear took the skin of a bear, and made a cap for him, to hide his naked skull. His wounds were now all healed, and he was well and strong. The man's people had nearly forgotten him, it had been so long ago, and they had supposed that the whole party had been killed.

Soon after this the he bear said, "Now we will take that journey." They started, and went to the village, and waited near it till it was night. Then the bear said to him, "Go into the village, and tell your father that you are here. Then get for me a piece of buffalo meat, and a blue bead, and some Indian tobacco, and some sweet smelling clay."

The man went into the village, and his father was very much surprised, and very glad to see him again. He got the presents, and brought them to the bear, and gave them to him, and the bear talked to him.

When they were about to part, the bear came up to him, and put his arms about him, and hugged him, and put his mouth against the man's mouth, and said, "As the fur that I am in has touched you it will make you great, and this will be a blessing to you." His paws were around the man's shoulders, and he drew them down his arms, until they came to his hands, and he held them, and said, "As my hands, have touched your hands, they are made great, not to fear

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anything. I have rubbed my hands down over you, so that you shall be as tough as I am. Because my mouth has touched your mouth you shall be made wise." Then he left him, and went away.

So this man was the greatest of all warriors, and was brave. He was like a bear. He originated the bear dance which still exists among the tribe of Pawnees. He came to be an old man, and at last died of old age. I suspect the old bear died at the same time.

THE BOY WHO WAS SACRIFICED

THERE was a time, far back, when some people thought that it was good to sacrifice to *Ti-ra'-wa* whatever they had that was most precious to them. The sacrifice of the animal, the burnt offering, has always been made by all the Pawnees; that is one of the things handed down from the ruler. It is very old. The Skidi have always performed the sacrifice of the captive. Each one of these is sacred and solemn, but it is not like giving up something that belongs to you, and that you love. It is a sacrifice, but it does not cost much.

Many years ago, in the Skidi village on the Loup, there lived a man, who believed that if he sacrificed his son to *Ti-ra'-wa*, it would be a blessing to him. He thought that if he did this thing, perhaps *Ti-ra'-wa* would speak to him face to face, and that he could talk to him just as two people would talk to one another, and that in this way would learn many things that other people did not understand. His child was a nice boy about ten years old, strong, growing up well, and the man loved him. It made him feel badly to think of killing him. He meditated long about this, but the more he thought about it, the more he believed that this sacrifice would please *Ti-ra'-wa*. There were many things that he wanted to understand, and to do; and he thought if he gave up his son, these good things would come to him. So he resolved to make the sacrifice.

One morning he started out from the village, and took the boy with him. They went over to the Platte. When they got to the river,

as they were walking along, the man took his knife from its sheath, and caught the boy by the shoulder, and stabbed him quickly, and cut him open. When the boy was dead, he threw the body into the river, and then went back to the village. When he got there, he went into his lodge and sat down. After a time he said to his wife, "Where is the boy?" The woman said, "He went out with you, when you went over to see the horses." The man answered, "No; I went out to where the horses are feeding, and looked at them, but he did not go with me."

The man went out, and looked for the boy all through the village, but he could not find him. At night when the boy did not come home, they began to get frightened, and for two days they hunted for the boy, and at last they got the old crier to call out for him from the top of the lodge, and ask if any one had seen him, but none of the people knew what had become of the boy. Now the mother was mourning, and the father pretended to feel very badly. They could not find the boy; and soon after this the tribe started on the summer hunt, and the father and mother went with them. The village made a good hunt, killing plenty of buffalo, and made much dried meat.

After the boy had been thrown into the river, he floated down with the current, sometimes turning over and over in the swift water, and sometimes grounding for a little while on a sand bar, and then being floated off again, and being carried further down. At length he came near to the place where the whirlpool is, under the bluff at *Pa-bŭk'*, where is the lodge of the *Nahu'rac*. There were two buzzards sitting on the bluff, just above this place, and as they sat there, one of them stretched out his neck and looked up the river, and after he had looked, he said to the other, "I see a body." Then both the buzzards flew down to where the boy was floating in the water, and got down under him, and raised him on their backs, and lifted him up out of the water, and flew up to the bluff, carrying the boy on their backs, and placed him on the ground on top of the bluff over the big cave, which is the home of the *Nahu'rac*. In this lodge were all kinds of animals, and all kinds of birds. There were bears, and mountain lions, and buffalo, and elk, and beaver, and otter, and deer; all kinds of animals, great and small, and all kinds of birds.

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There is a little bird, smaller than a pigeon. Its back is blue, and its breast white, and its head is spotted. It flies swiftly over the water, and when it sees a fish, it dives down into the water to catch it. This bird is a servant or a messenger for the *Nahu'rac*. Such a bird came flying by just as the buzzards put the body on the ground, and he stopped and looked at it. When he saw how it was—for he knew all that had happened—he flew down into the lodge and told the *Nahu'rac* about the boy. The bird said, "There is a boy up here on the hill. He is dead, and he is poor, and I want to have him brought to life again." Then he told the *Nahu'rac* all the things that had happened. When the messenger bird had done speaking, the *Nahu'rac* earnestly counselled together for a long time to decide what should be done, and each one made a speech, giving his opinion about the matter, but they could not make up their minds what ought to be done.

The little bird was coaxing the *Nahu'rac*, and saying, "Come, now, we want to save his life." But the *Nahu'rac* could not decide. At last the chief of the *Nahu'rac* said, "No, messenger, we cannot decide this here. You will have to go to the other council lodges, and see what they say about it." The bird said, "I am going," and flew swiftly out of the lodge and up the river, till he came to the *Nahu'rac* lodge near the Lone Tree. When he got there, he told them all about the boy, and said that the council at *Pa-hūk'* could not decide what should be done. The *Nahu'rac* here talked, and at last they said, "We cannot decide. The council at *Pa-hūk'* must decide." Then the bird went to the lodge on the Loup, and the *Nahu'rac* there said that they could not decide. Then he went to *Kitz-a-witz-ūk*, and to *Pa-hūr'*; and at each place the *Nahu'rac* considered and talked about it, and then said, "We cannot decide what shall be done. The council at *Pa-hūk'* must decide for themselves."

At last, after he had visited all the council lodges of the *Nahu'rac*, the bird flew swiftly back to the lodge at *Pa-hūk'*, and told them there what the animals at the other lodges had said. In the council of the *Nahu'rac* at *Pa-hūk'*, there were four chiefs, who sat there as judges to determine such matters as this, after they had all been talked over, and to decide what should be done. When the messenger bird came back, and told the *Nahu'rac* what the other councils had said, these judges considered for a time, and then spoke together, and at length

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539 the chief of the judges said to the bird, "Now, messenger, we have
773 concluded that we will not decide this question ourselves. You decide it, and say what shall be done."

The messenger was not long in deciding. He did not hesitate. He said, "I want this boy brought back to life." Then all the *Nahu'rac* stood up, and went to where the boy lay, and stood around him and prayed, and at last the boy breathed once, and then after a little while he breathed again, and at last he came to life and sat up. He looked about and saw all these animals standing around him, and he wondered. He said to himself, "Why, my father stabbed me, and killed me, and now here I am among this great crowd of animals. What does this mean?" He was surprised.

The *Nahu'rac* all went back into the lodge, and took the boy with them. When all were seated in the lodge, the four judges talked to each other, and the chief one stood up, and said, "Now, my people, we have brought this boy back to life, but he is poor, and we must do something for him. Let us teach him all we know, and make him one of us." Then the *Nahu'rac* all made a noise. They were glad. Then they began to sing and they danced. They taught the boy all their secrets, and all their ways. They taught him how to cut a man open and cure him again, and how to shoot an arrow through a man and then cure him, and how to cut a man's tongue out and then to put it back, and how to make well a broken leg, and many other things. After they had done all these things, they said to the boy, "Now we have brought you back to life, and have taught you all these things, so that you are one of us. Now you must stop with us one season. Your people have gone off on the summer hunt. You must stay with us until the autumn. Then you can go back to your people." So the boy stayed with the *Nahu'rac* in their lodge.

At length the Skidi had returned from the hunt with plenty of dried meat. Soon after this, the *Nahu'rac* said one day to the boy, "Your people have got back from the hunt. Now you can go back to the village. Go back and get a lot of nice dried meat, and bring it back to us here, and we will have a feast."

The boy went home to the village. He got there in the night, and went to his father's lodge, and went in. There was a little fire burning in the lodge. It was nearly out, and gave only a little light, but he

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knew the place where his mother slept. He went up to her, and put out his hand and touched her, and pushed her a little. She awoke, and sat up and looked at him, and he said, "I've come back." When she saw him, and heard him speak, she was very much surprised, and her heart was glad to see her boy again. She called to his father, and he woke up. When he saw the boy he was afraid, for he thought it was a ghost. The boy told them nothing of what had happened, or where he had been. He just said, "I have come back again."

In the morning all the people were surprised to hear that he had come back, and to see him, and they stood around looking at him, and asking him questions, but he said nothing. The next day the people still questioned him, and at last the boy said, "I have been all summer with friends, with people who have been good to me. I should like to take them a present of some nice dried meat, so that we can have a feast." The people said that this was good. They picked out four strong horses, and loaded them with dried meat, the nicest pieces. The boy's father gave some of it, and all the other people brought pieces and put them on the horses, until they had big loads. They sent two young men with the boy, to help him load and drive the horses, and they started to go to the *Nahu'rac* lodge at *Pa-hük'*.

When they had come pretty near the place, the boy sent the young men back to the village, and he went on alone, driving the pack-horses before him. When he reached the home of the *Nahu'rac*, he unloaded the horses, and turned them loose, and then went into the lodge. When he went in, and when the *Nahu'rac* saw him, they all made a hissing noise. They were glad to see him. The boy brought into the lodge all the dried meat, and they had a great feast. After the feast they had a doctors' dance, and the boy was made a doctor, and again was taught all that the *Nahu'rac* knew. After that he could do many wonderful things. He could sometimes go to a man that had been dead for a day, and then bring him back to life.

No one ever knew what the father had done, for the boy never told any one. He knew that he could never have learned all these wonderful things unless his father had sacrificed him.

Pawnee, Blackfoot and Cheyenne

THE SNAKE BROTHER

539 ONE time, long ago, a big party of Pawnees went on the warpath
773 down to the south. They could find no enemies anywhere, and they went a long way south. In this party were two brothers, poor boys, and one day as they were traveling along, apart from the others, in a piece of woods where it was very thick, they got lost. When they found that they were lost, they tried to go back to the camp, but they could not find the others, and at last gave up looking for them and started to go back north to their home. They had no food with them, and were looking about for something to kill, so that they might eat. As they were going along, they came upon a dead buffalo that had been killed some time, and there was nothing of it left but the bones, so they took some of the marrow bones, and carried them along with them, until they made a camp.

Not far beyond here they stopped to rest. There was a tree growing near where they stopped, and as they looked up into it, they saw a squirrel run up the tree. One of the brothers caught up his bow and arrows, and the other said, "Oh, kill him, kill him, quick." The boy shot and killed it, and they skinned it, and roasted it over the fire. While they were cooking it the elder brother said, "I wonder if it is good to eat the marrow and the squirrel together." The younger said, "No, it is not good to do so. This is not real meat." The elder thought the two kinds of food would be good together, and they disputed about this for some time. The elder brother kept coaxing the younger to eat the squirrel and the marrow together, but the younger said, "Oh, brother, I do not like to do this. To me it does not seem good. But if you wish to do it, why don't you?" The elder said, "I think I will do so"; and he did so, taking a bite of squirrel, and then a bite of marrow. He said, "It is nice, you had better take some." But the younger brother would not. He ate only the marrow. After they had eaten they did not go on further, but slept there.

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About the middle of the night, the elder brother felt a noise in his feet, and he sat up and felt of his legs and feet, and he found that his feet were stuck together, and were beginning to get round, like a snake, and had a rattle on the end of them, and that his legs were round and like the tail of a great big rattlesnake. He reached over, and put his hands on his brother, and shook him, and said to him, "Get up. There is something the matter with me." The younger brother woke up, and felt of his brother, and found how it was; as if he was changing into a snake, beginning at his feet. When he saw this he felt very badly. Then the older brother began to talk to the younger, and to give him good advice, for he felt very sad. 539X 773

He said, "Now I am going to die, and leave my young brother here alone on this prairie. He is so young, he will not be able to find his way home, and he must die, too. Surely this has happened because I ate the marrow and the squirrel together." While he was talking, the change had moved up to his waist.

After a little while he got more hopeful, and he said, "Now, brother, I know that you will get home safely. I will protect you. I know that I am going to be a snake, and I shall stay right here. You see that hole," and he pointed to a hole in the bank. "When I have changed into a snake, take me in your arms, and carry me over to that hole. I am going to stay there forever. That will be my home, for that is the house of the snakes. When you go back home, you must tell our father and mother how it was, and whenever you want to go on the warpath, take a big party and come down this way, and come right here, to this very place, and you will see me, for I shall be here. Now, brother, when you go back home, some time after you have reached home, I want you to come back all alone; come right here. You know what I told you; do not be afraid of me. I believe this was to happen to me, and I could not help it. After you have once come all alone, then the second time you may bring some others with you, but the first time come alone." So he talked to his brother, and as he spoke the change kept going on. While it was moving up his body, until it got to his head, he was still like a man in his mind, but all his body was like a great big snake. Then he spoke to his brother, and said, "Now, brother, cover up my head with the robe, and after a little while take it off again." The younger brother did

as he was told, and when, after a while, he took the robe off, there he saw an immense snake's head as broad as his two hands. The elder brother had completely changed into a snake.

The young man took the snake in his arms, and carried him over to the hole, and put him on the ground by it. He felt very sad to go away and leave his brother here. Before he started, he spoke good words to the snake, and said, "Now, brother, I am going home, and I ask you to take pity on me, and to protect me. I do not know the country I am going through, and you must take care of me. Do not forget the promises you have made me." After he had spoken he did not wait to see the snake go into the hole, but started on his journey, and went off toward his home.

When he reached the village, he told all these things to his father and his mother. He said to all his relations, "Do not mourn for him. He is alive and he is well. The only trouble is, that he is in the shape of a snake." After he had been home ten days, he told his mother to make for him five pairs of moccasins, that he was going on the warpath for himself. His mother did so, and he stuffed them full of parched corn, and took a little sack of pounded buffalo meat on his back, and started back to see his brother.

It took him seven days' fast traveling to get to where he left the snake. When he had come near the place, he saw there the hole where he had left his brother. He went up close to the hole and began to speak. He said, "Brother, I am here. I have come on the warpath, and I am here to see you. You told me to come, and to come alone. I have done what you bade me, and am here. Now, brother, remember to keep your promises. I want to see you this afternoon."

He stood there a little while, and then there began in the hole a rattling and a rustling and scraping noise, and presently dust began to roll out, and then out of the hole came this great big snake, which was his brother. First came out this great snake, and after him many other large ones came out, and crept all about, but the great snake, his brother, lay just outside the hole. The boy went up to the big snake and took it in his arms, and hugged it, and spoke to it, and the snake put out its tongue, as if it were kissing him. Then the boy put it down on the ground, and all the other snakes came back, and went in the hole, and after them all, last, the big snake went in the hole.

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Then the boy left this place, and went on a little further, and about sunset he came to a little creek, and here he lay down and slept. In the night he dreamed of his brother, who spoke to him and said, "Now, brother, I am glad that you have come down to see me, as I told you to. And now I say to you, be brave. Have courage. Tomorrow morning when you awake, dress yourself up as if you were going to fight. Paint your face, put feathers in your head, make yourself ready to fight."

The next morning the boy woke up, and as the snake had told him in the dream, so he did. He painted his face and tied feathers in his head, and dressed himself up for the fight. Then he started on. Pretty soon he came to a little hill, and as he looked over it, he saw people coming toward him; people and many horses. He thought they were Sioux, and when he saw them, he went back a little, to find a place where he could hide. He went back to the little creek where he had slept, and there he sat down in the brush. When he had hidden himself in the brush, he waited; and the people came straight toward where he had hidden himself, and camped just below where he was. After a little while he raised himself up and looked at them, and saw only two persons, and presently he saw that one of them was a woman. He watched for a long time, looking about to see if there were any more, but he could see only these two. Then he considered what he should do. While he was thinking, it came to him what the snake brother had said to him in the night, and then he knew what to do.

He crept slowly along through the brush toward their camp, and when he got close to them, about twenty yards distant, he raised up his head and looked. He saw the woman cooking, and there were hanging on a little tree the man's bow and arrows and shield and spear, but the man he could not see. He was lying down asleep somewhere near by. The boy waited and watched. He was excited, and his heart was pounding against his ribs. After a little while, the woman left the fire and walked away toward the horses. Perhaps her husband had said to her, "The horses are going off, you had better go and turn them back." When she went toward the horses, the boy was going to run up to the man and kill him, but before doing so he changed his mind; for he thought, "If I kill him, perhaps the woman will get

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X539 on a horse, and ride away, driving the other horses with her." So
●773 he waited until the woman had come back. When she had returned to the fire, he ran up toward her, and she heard him coming, and ran to wake her husband; but just as she got to him, the boy was by her side. He shot two arrows into the man and killed him and counted
[127] *coup* on him, and captured the woman. He took the whole scalp of his enemy's head.

Then he took the woman and went down to where the horses were, and they got on two of them, and rode back to where his brother, the snake, lived, driving the horses before them. Just before they got to the hole, the boy took his lariat and caught a nice spotted horse and a mule, and tied them up to the tree, and called up the woman, and tied her up against the tree as tight as he could tie her. When he had done this, he went up to the hole and began to talk. He said, "Oh, my brother, I see now that what you have promised me comes true. I did what you told me. Now here are these two animals and the woman; I give them to you for being good to me. They are yours. I am glad for what you have done for me this day." When he had finished saying this he spoke again, saying, "Now, brother, I want to see you once more. I am going off, and I want to see you before I go." After a little while he heard again the rattling sound in the hole, and saw the dust coming out of it, and then his brother came out of the hole, and then afterward the smaller snakes; and these all went down to the tree and climbed up into it. The tree was thick with them. Then the boy did as he had done before. He went close to the hole, and took his brother up in his arms and hugged him, and the great snake thrust out his tongue, as if kissing him. Then the boy spoke again and said, "Now, brother, I am going away, and I give you these two animals and this woman to keep. They are yours." Then he started for his home, and after a long time he arrived at the village.

After a time, he determined to start off again on the warpath, and this time he took a party with him. He had told the whole tribe what had happened, and how his brother had protected and helped him; and he said to those warriors who were going with him, "Let each one of you take a present with you for my brother; some beads or eagle

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feathers or some tobacco as an offering, so that he may help you." They started south to go to the place where his brother lived. When they got there the young man said to the others, "Now you must, each one of you, give something to my brother. Call him by his kin name, and ask him to help you, and to make you successful; and leave the things before the hole." They did as he said, and when they had made their presents, they went by. They saw nothing, for the brother did not call out the great snake.

Two or three days after they had passed the place, they found a camp of Sioux and took a lot of horses and killed some of the enemy. Then they went back, and when they came to the snake's home, they took a horse and led it up near the hole and killed it, and gave it to him, and left the scalps at the mouth of the hole as presents to him. When they reached the village, there was great joy and a good time. They had all kinds of dances, for they were glad that the war party had killed some Sioux.

After that another war party started out, and the brother said to them, "Go straight to my brother, and make him a present, and ask him to give you good luck, and you will be successful." And it happened as he had said.

The brother was always fortunate in war. He became a chief and was very rich, having many horses. Ever after that time, when he took the lead of a war party, all the poor men would come and say, "I want to go with you." They knew that his brother was a snake, and would give him good luck.

O'RE-KA-RAHR

A LONG time ago, as the tribe were on their summer hunt, a man and his wife got to quarreling. They had a child, a boy about ten months old. It was while they were traveling along, going from one camp to another, that they began to quarrel. At length the wife became

very angry, and threw the baby to the man saying, "You take that baby. It belongs to you, for it is a man child. I am not going to nurse it for you any longer." Then she went away.

The man took the child and carried it along with him. He felt very badly, both on his own account and on account of his child. He was so unhappy that he almost wanted to kill himself. He was so poor-minded because it was a disgrace that he, being a man, should be obliged to take care of his child until it was grown up, and he had no female relatives to whom he could turn it over to be reared. So he was very unhappy, and determined to leave the tribe and wander off alone, far from his people.

He did so. He carried the child on his back, as a woman does. When it cried for its mother's milk, he had none to give it. He could only cry with it. He hated to kill the child, or to leave it behind to die on the prairie. He wandered off to the south. He traveled on for a time, until he came near to where the buffalo were. By this time, the child had changed from a very fat baby to a very thin one, because it had not been nursed. When he got to the buffalo, he killed a cow, and took its udder, and while it was fresh he let the child suck it, until it became sour. Then he killed another cow, and did the same thing. In every way he did the best he could to nourish the child. Sometimes he would get a slice of meat, and half cook it, and let the child suck the juice. The child began to improve, and to get a little stronger. In this way he supported it for quite a long time, and it did pretty well, and at last it got used to this food, and became strong and well. By this time he had gone a long way.

At length he found that the child could sit up alone. Then he began to give it all sorts of playthings, so that it could amuse itself. First he made for it a little bow and some arrows, and taught it how to use them. He made other things for the child to play with, and at last it got to be contented playing alone. Then the father would leave the child for a few minutes, and go off a little way, perhaps to the top of a hill near by, to look off over the country, but he would look back at the child every few steps to see that it was all right. When he would come back he would find the child safe, playing, well contented. After a while he got so that he would leave it for about an hour, and when he came back, find it safe and con-

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tented, playing. By this time the child had begun to walk. Finally the father went off once for half a day, and when he came back, he found the child playing about safe. It did not seem to mind much about the father being absent. About this time he killed a buffalo cow, and made some dried meat, and put it in a certain place, and told the child when it was hungry to go there and get a piece.

He now went off and was gone a whole day, and when he came back at night the child was safe. Finally he made his preparations and went off to stay over night, and be gone two days. He did so, and when he came back, the boy was asleep. A second time he went away and was absent for two days, going quite a long distance. When he came back he found that the child was painted with white clay. The father thought this was strange. He said to himself, "Something must have come and talked to my child, and is taking care of him while I am gone."

When he came back the third time after a two days' journey, he found that the child had about his neck a string of *pa'but*. The fourth long journey he took lasted three days, and when he returned, he found his boy still wearing this same string of beads, and with a feather tied in his head. Now his father knew that something was looking after his child while he was away, and when he went off, he would pray for the child. He would say, "*No'-a*, whatever it is that is taking pity on my child, also take pity on me."

The child had now grown so large that it could talk with him, and one day it said, "Father, you go away, and you be gone for four days; I will be all right here. When you come back you will find me safe."

The man went. He started to go way down south, to be gone for four days. After he had been gone two days and two nights, he saw a signal smoke and went toward it. As he raised up his head and peeped over a hill before crossing it, he saw, far off, a lot of people and horses coming toward the river which lay between him and them. He lay on the hill a long time, watching to see where they would camp. When they had made camp, he went into a ravine, and crept down close to the camp, until he could see that it was just one lodge, and that about it were a whole herd of horses. He waited until evening, and then went over to the lodge. It was after dark when he went. The lodge was all surrounded by horses; everywhere nothing but horses, there were so

539 many. He crept close to the lodge, and looked in through an opening
773 by the door, and saw lying down opposite the door a great big man, and on either side a woman; only three persons in all. As he looked at these persons, he thought he recognized one of the women. He kept looking at her, and at last he remembered who she was, and that she had been captured long ago from the Pawnees. Her people were still living. The man was a Comanche.

While the Pawnee was watching, the man inside the lodge asked for something, and the captive woman stood up to go out of the lodge, and the Pawnee stepped to one side, out of sight. The woman came out into the darkness, and went out among the horses. The Pawnee stepped up behind her very softly, and put his hand on her shoulder, and said to her in Pawnee, "Friend, do you belong to my tribe?" The woman started to scream, but he put his hand on her mouth, and said to her, "Be quiet. Keep still. Do not call out." She answered him, "Yes, I belong to your tribe." Then she said in a very low voice that shook, for she was afraid, "Do you belong to my tribe?" The man said, "Yes." Then he asked her, "Who is that other woman that I see in the lodge?" She answered him, "She also belongs to our tribe, and is a prisoner." Then the man said, "You just wait and keep still. I am going to kill that man." The woman said, "That is good. That is good. This man is the biggest man of all the Comanches. He has come first to this place, and all the rest of the Comanches are coming here to meet him. I am glad that my people are living, and that I am going back to see them once more. Do not fail to kill him. I will tell the other woman to be ready, that our friend is here, and we will wait and watch."

When the woman went into the lodge, she whispered to the other woman, and said, "Be ready. A friend who belongs to our tribe is here. Take your hatchet, and be prepared to help to kill our husband."

The two women waited, and the Pawnee made ready to shoot the Comanche with his bow and arrow. The woman had said to him, "Push aside the door a little and be ready." He made a little bit of an opening by the door, just big enough to let an arrow pass through, and when the time came he let it go. *U'-ra-rish!* the arrow flew straight, and pierced the Comanche through the heart. So he died, and the Pawnee counted *coup* on him and took his scalp.

The women felt so glad to meet a friend that they put their arms

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around the man and patted him. They were going back home to see their relations. They asked him, "How many of you are here?" He answered, "I am alone." They were surprised.

They took down the lodge, and packed everything on the horses, and drove off the herd, leaving the dead body of the enemy in the camp. All night they traveled, and all the next day; and as they were going, he told them how it came about that he was alone. They told him that there were about three hundred head of horses in the herd that they had with them. When they had come pretty close to where he had left the child, he told them about the boy being there all alone; and the women just ran their horses to get to the boy; whichever got there first, he should be hers. When they came to the boy, they took him in their arms and petted him, and took him as their own.

Now the father was no longer sad. He had recovered two captured women, had killed his enemy, and had taken a lot of horses.

They went on, and traveled far, and at length, one night, they came to the Pawnee tribe, and camped with them. The horses just surrounded the lodge, you could just see the top of it over their backs. The next morning all the people wondered who these strangers could be. They found out that the man and child, who were lost, had returned, and with them two women, captured long ago by the Comanches. So there was great joy in the tribe. Then the man gave his relations many horses. In those days the Pawnees had not many horses, and it seems that this man brought good luck in horses to the tribe. Ever since that time they have had many horses. The mother of the child came to see it, she was so glad it was alive, but she was whipped out of the lodge.

The child grew to be a man, and was wealthy. After he had grown up, he told his father that ever since he could remember anything, a buck deer had talked to him, and taken care of him; that it had saved them, and brought them good fortune. In order that the *O're-ka-rahr* might be remembered, he established a dance, called the deer dance, which has been kept up to this day.

Many wonderful things happened to this same young man. Once he went on a war party against the Cheyennes, and stole some horses from them. The Cheyennes followed and overtook them, and they had a great fight. The first man killed was this young man. He was

X539 very brave, and the Cheyennes cut him up into small pieces, but that
773 night it lightened and thundered and rained, and soon after the storm
● was over, the young man came walking into camp alive. He was all scarred over, where he had been cut up, but he had come to life because the deer had looked after him. He lived long to show the scars of the battles he had been through.

THE GHOST BRIDE

X539 In a place where we used to have a village, a young woman died just
773 before the tribe started on the hunt. When she died they dressed her
776 up in her finest clothes, and buried her, and soon after this the tribe started on the hunt.

A party of young men had gone off to visit another tribe, and they did not get back until after this girl had died and the tribe had left the village. Most of this party did not go back to the village, but met the tribe and went with them on the hunt. Among the young men who had been away was one who had loved this girl who had died. He went back alone to the village. It was empty and silent, but before he reached it, he could see, far off, some one sitting on top of a lodge. When he came near, he saw that it was the girl he loved. He did not know that she had died, and he wondered to see her there alone, for the time was coming when he would be her husband and she his wife. When she saw him coming, she came down from the top of the lodge and went inside. When he came close to her, he spoke and said, "Why are you here alone in the village?" She answered him, "They have gone off on the hunt. I was sulky with my relations, and they went off and left me behind." The man wanted her now to be his wife, but the girl said to him, "No, not yet, but later we will be married." She said to him, "You must not be afraid. To-night there will be dances here; the ghosts will dance." This is an old custom of the Pawnees. When they danced they used to go from one lodge to another, singing, dancing and hallooing. So now, when the tribe had

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gone and the village was deserted, the ghosts did this. He could hear them coming along the empty streets, and going from one lodge to another. They came into the lodge where he was, and danced about, and whooped and sang, and sometimes they almost touched him, and he came pretty near being scared. 539x 773 775

The next day, the young man persuaded the girl to go on with him, and follow the tribe, to join it on the hunt. They started to travel together, and she promised him that she would surely be his wife, but not until the time came. They overtook the tribe; but before they got to the camp, the girl stopped. She said, "Now we have arrived, but you must go first to the village, and prepare a place for me. Where I sleep, let it be behind a curtain. For four days and four nights I must remain behind this curtain. Do not speak of me. Do not mention my name to any one."

The young man left her there and went into the camp. When he got to his lodge, he told a woman, one of his relations, to go out to a certain place and bring in a woman, who was waiting there for him. His relative asked him, "Who is the woman?" And to avoid speaking her name, he told who were her father and mother. His relation, in surprise, said, "It cannot be that girl, for she died some days before we started on the hunt."

When the woman went to look for the girl she could not find her. The girl had disappeared. The young man had disobeyed her, and had told who she was. She had told him that she must stay behind a curtain for four days, and that no one must know who she was. Instead of doing what she had said, he told who she was, and the girl disappeared because she was a ghost. If he had obeyed the girl, she would have lived a second time upon earth. That same night this young man died in sleep.

Then the people were convinced that there must be a life after this one.

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HOW THE DEER LOST HIS GALL

*539 773 A LONG time ago, the deer and the antelope met upon the prairie. At that time both of them had dew-claws, and both had galls. After they had talked for a little while, each one of them began to boast about how fast he could run. Each one, the deer and the antelope, claimed that he could run faster than any other animal, and at length they became very angry in their dispute, and determined that they would have a race.

They staked their galls on the race, and it was run on the prairie. The antelope ran the faster, and won, and took the deer's gall. The deer felt very badly that he had lost it, and he seemed so miserable that the antelope felt sorry for him, and to cheer him up, he took off his dew-claws and gave them to him.

Since that time the deer has had no gall, and the antelope no dew-claws.

*539 773 171 NOTE.—A story somewhat similar to this is current among the Blackfeet tribes of the northern country. In this tale the antelope won the deer's gall, as in the Pawnee story. Then the deer said, "You have won, but that race was not a fair one, for it was over the prairie alone. We ought to run another race in the timber to decide which is really the faster." They agreed to run this second race, and on it they bet their dew-claws. The deer ran the faster through the thick timber and over the logs, and beat the antelope, and took his dew-claws. Since then the antelope has had no dew-claws, and the deer no gall.

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796 take a certain position. When these signs were seen, then they must listen
821 for the thunder that is low, deep, and rumbling, starting in the west and rolling around the entire circuit of the heavens. Sheet lightning gave warning that this kind of thunder would soon appear. This thunder was the voice of Heaven, and when it came from the south they knew that it was the signal for the creation ritual to be performed.

796 The ritual was part of the sacred lore of the Evening Star bundle
798 which at this time was kept in the earth lodge of Old Lady Lucky
821 Leader. As soon as the thunder was heard, the five official priests gath-
221 ered there and began their preparations for the ritual. The same ritual would be repeated for each of the twelve major sacred bundles, the Evening Star which they were about to perform, then Morning Star bundle, then Big Black Meteoric Star and nine others. At intervals all during the month of March the priests went in succession to the different households where each of the bundles was kept, performing the ritual to renew their powers. The order for the first three performances was as given above; the other nine, simply as each of the households happened to be ready to pause in its work and to provide the necessary food for the priests.

796 Now the five priests were sitting at the west in the lodge of Old Lady
793 Lucky Leader, the Evening Star bundle lying open before them. The
[798] sacred objects were spread out on the skin of a tawny yellow calf representing the herds of buffalo. Two sacred ears of corn represented their staple food, two owlskins the watchfulness of the chiefs, hawkskins the ferocity of the warriors, flint for fire and sweet grass for incense; paints symbolized the powers of the different directions of the universe. Each of the priests held a gourd rattle in his right hand, and they sang together of the first creation. Their responsibility lay heavy upon them, for they and they alone must bring the world back to life again. Would they now be able to bring back the abundance of summer—the green grass, the trees, the animals reborn, the waters flowing free, the warmth of a summer day? Loud and insistently they recounted each minute step of the creation and in the trancelike depths of their thinking, the events rolled by before them.

• 793 In the beginning Heaven sat in the unassorted universe and thought. He sent his thoughts out over space. Then he created the celestial gods to bring his thoughts to fruition. First he made the gods of the cardinal directions—the Evening Star at the west with the moon as her helper, the Morning Star at the east with the sun as his helper, in the north the North Star and in the south, Canopus, the South Star. Then Heaven placed four stars in the semicardinal directions—Black Star in the northeast, Yellow Star in the northwest, White Star in the southwest and Red Star in the southeast. Heaven said to them, "You four shall be known as the ones who uphold the heavens. There you shall stand as long as the

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heavens last, and although your place is to hold the heavens up, I also give you power to create people. You shall give them the different bundles which shall be holy bundles. Your powers will be known to the people, for you shall touch the heavens with your hands, and your feet shall touch the earth."

Now Heaven spoke to Evening Star in the west. So that they might do her bidding, he sent her clouds, winds, lightnings, and thunders, and these she was to place between herself and her garden; then they would assume human form, appearing in the dress of priests, each with a gourd rattle in his right hand. With these arrangements in order, Heaven was now ready to create the world:

It was the storms that carried out this mission, one great thunderstorm to create the lifeless structure, and a second to endow it with life. All this took many eons.

Heaven told the Evening Star to tell her gods to rattle and sing. As they sang, the clouds came up, then the winds blew the clouds and the lightnings and thunders entered the clouds. The thick clouds gathered over open space and into them Heaven dropped a pebble—a quartz crystal. The pebble rolled in the clouds and as the storm passed over, the whole world below was water. Now Heaven sent out the four semicardinal-direction gods, each armed with a war club of hemlock, the wood known to the Skidi as *atira*, my mother. As they approached their appropriate stations, they were to strike the waters which would cause them to part and expose the earth. Each of the four semicardinal-direction bundles is said to contain such a war club of hemlock that was actually used in the original creation.

Now the lifeless structure of the earth had been formed. A second great storm was needed to put life into the earth. Heaven instructed Evening Star to have her four gods (impersonated by the priests in the ritual) rattle and sing, and, while they sang, clouds came up, winds, lightnings, and thunders, and, while the gods sang of the formation of the earth, "the storms passed over the earth, and as the winds blew, it rained, the lightnings striking in the ground to put life in the earth. The thunders now shook the earth so that in parts where it was not level, the dirt slid down into the valleys." In these two great storms, the earth, *uraru*, was created and then life put into it.

Next were to be created the timbers and the underbrush *tuharu*, that make the land gray. The gods sang, and with the first great storm, the structure of the timbers was created. There was a second great thunderstorm in which the lightning struck them and the thunders sounded over them to put life into the *tuharu*, the timber.

Fourth in the great creation were the waters, *tsaharu*, and two great eras of storm were needed—one to give it its structure and a second to make it a living reality. The bottoms of the creeks, rivers, ponds, and

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• 773 lakes were cleared as "the wind passed over the streams" and it rained. Then the waters filled the stream, *tsaharu*. Then the lightnings struck the streams and the thunders sounded into them and the sound of the streams flowing through the land was heard to reply, and Heaven knew that they were sweet.

The fifth creation was of cultivated seeds, *kakiru*. In a first storm, the seeds were dropped on the earth by the gods. Then in a second storm, Evening Star sent winds, clouds, thunder, and lightnings over the earth so that the seeds had life and sprouted. "After all this was done, Heaven was glad and hid himself for a time."

To the stars, Heaven had assigned the task of creating people in their own image. Now Morning Star called them all into council, but in the course of their proceedings, a great conflict developed between him and the Evening Star. Now in order to bring light and life into the world, Morning Star had to set out from his home in the east to conquer Evening Star and mate with her. Evening Star was ready for him. In the four semicardinal world quarters she had placed four fierce animals—wolf in the southeast, who had the power of the clouds; wildcat in the southwest, with power of the winds; mountain lion in the northwest, with lightning power; and bear in the northeast, with his power of thunder. While the other male gods had come from the east trying desperately to overcome the powers, they had all died in the attempt. Now Morning Star with his helper, the Sun, had succeeded, but he had one more obstacle to overcome. Evening Star had provided herself with vaginal teeth "like the mouth of a rattlesnake with teeth around," and these Morning Star had to break with a meteor stone in order to mate with her. As a result of his success, a girl was born to Evening Star. She was the first human being that the stars had created. She stood on a cloud and was carried to earth by a funnel-shaped whirlwind. Now Moon and Sun mated, and they created a boy who was also carried to earth.

The gods now held two more councils to make further plans for humanity. In the first council, the Big Black Meteoric Star presided, in the second, the Evening Star. Heaven now came out of his retirement to help them. He told Evening Star to call her four storm priests to rattle and sing, and it rained on the two children, lightning struck around them, and the thunders roared. At last they understood, and they lay together and a child was born to them. Heaven instructed Evening Star again, and through further storms each young person was instructed in his respective role in life—the girl in the fruitfulness of the earth, the form of the earth lodge, the nature of speech and of the land outside. The man got the clothing of a warrior and was shown the way to travel over the earth, how to make war and how to hunt; he was also taught his role in the act of procreation.

The people began to increase and Evening Star came many times in

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visions to the first man. She came night after night, bringing along her four storm gods who rattled and sang the sacred songs so that he learned of the creation and could give this knowledge to the people. Then the people went hunting far and wide over the land and they discovered that there were villages scattered everywhere in which there were people just like themselves. First Man now decided to call them all to a great council. He sent his messenger to the villages to invite them. Meanwhile he moved his village from south of the Platte to a more central location northward on the Loup, and it was henceforth called Center Village. From the west came Old Village which was actually four villages in one, each representing one of the semicardinal directions and each with a sacred bundle of its own that contained a different color of corn. They came carrying packages of dried buffalo meat on their backs, since it was a time before the Pawnees had gotten horses from the Europeans. The leader of the four was Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, and the head of this village insisted on being "Master of Ceremonies" for all of them. The Chief of Center Village who had called them together was now faced with a problem, and that night Evening Star came to him in a vision and told him what to do. He would divide the functions of priest and chief, stepping aside and allowing the leader of Old Village to be the priest while he himself took over the functions of chief. He kept the Evening Star bundle intact, but made a special ceremonial bundle to denote his chieftainship. In order to commemorate his creative intellectual powers, he directed that when he died his skull was to be attached to the outside of this bundle. Thus it came to be known as the Skull bundle, although it was also referred to as the bundle of the Wonderful Person, *Tsahiks-paruksti*, "person-wonderful." This bundle presided over the meeting of the chiefs late in the spring as well as over other rituals. When the original skull was accidentally broken, it was replaced with another.

This story of the creation embodies two things. On the one hand it is an allegory of cosmic creation, and on the other a thinly veiled recounting, in symbolic form, of all-too-human intervillage conflicts of the past which were resolved by the formation of a political federation. In Pawnee thinking, these were appropriately combined, for peace and ongoing life came always from Heaven. In the ceremonial cycle of the year there was a careful alternation of ceremonial authority, the first ceremony being that of the Evening Star bundle—the creation; the second, a ceremony directed by the Morning Star bundle, and the third a ceremony under the aegis of one of the four semicardinal-direction bundles. (See Table 7-1.) In this way a balance of ceremonial responsibilities was maintained among the leading villages of the past which had joined together in the Skidi Federation.

After the priests had completed their rounds for the creation ritual during the month of March, the second ceremony in the cycle involved

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THE CAPTIVE GIRL SACRIFICE

Importance of Sacrifice to Pawnees—Dream of Warrior and Initiation of Sacrificial Ceremony Preparations—Capture of Sioux Maiden—the Ceremony of Sacrifice for Creation to Morning Star—the Sacrifice in the Nineteenth Century—Its Interruption and End—the Heroism of Man Chief—Aztec Origins

773 796 782 [241] After the creation ceremony in times past, the Pawnees had an awesome rite that they believed would ensure the fertility of their soil and the success of their crops. In the creation story, fruitfulness and light had come into the world because Morning Star and his realm of light had conquered and mated with Evening Star in her realm of darkness. Out of that contest, the first human being was conceived—a girl. From time to time the Morning Star demanded a girl in return.

773 796 782 787 He came as a vision to a warrior in his dreams on a night in the fall of the year. In the vision, Morning Star appeared as a man anointed with red paint, wrapped around with a buffalo robe, his leggings decorated with scalps and eagle feathers. There were soft down feathers in his hair and a single eagle feather stood upright in his scalplock. Holding his war club he spoke to the warrior in his dream: "I am the man who has power in the east. I am the Great Star (*Upirikutsu*). You people have forgotten about me. I am watching over your people. Go to the man who knows the ceremony and let him know. He will tell you what to do." When he awoke and went outside before dawn, the warrior saw the Morning Star in the sky and he knew he had been chosen for the heavy burden of making the sacrifice. He ran crying through the village to the house of the Morning Star priest, singing as he went, "When he comes,

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when he comes, father, I am seeking for you." When he arrived at the priest's house, they embraced and went together, and then the priest filled a little pipe with tobacco and asked the warrior to tell of his dream. 773 796 782

After he had heard his vision, the priest filled the pipe and went outside where he lit it and offered it to the Morning Star so that he would bless the young man. When the pipe was smoked out, the priest returned, emptied the ashes, and sat for a while talking with the warrior. The priest again filled the pipe and handed it to the warrior who lit it in the fireplace and carried it outside offering the first puff to the Morning Star, begging his pity and his guidance. Then the priest told the warrior to go home and to return when he was ready. He thought deeply of his forthcoming task as the priest had instructed him and at last asked the people in his lodge to make him several pairs of moccasins for the journey, filled with balls of pounded up sweet corn and some parched corn for his food. Everyone in the village was watching him, and some experienced warriors who had decided to go with him also asked their families to make similar preparations. [787]

The visionary returned to the priest's lodge where they sat together for four days. When he came on the fourth day, the priest took the Morning Star bundle down from where it was hanging over the sacred altar and removed the holy objects that the warrior would need, lighting the pipe from the bundle and offering smoke to each of them in the required fashion. The objects were an otterskin collar, Mother Corn, a hawkskin, an extra pipe from the bundle, some soft down feathers, and the skin of a wildcat, its legs filled with native tobacco and paints. These things the warrior would need for his costuming when he impersonated the Morning Star so that he could set out on his fateful journey. The ceremony took four days, and then the warrior went through the village to call on the men he knew were ready to come with him. He also chose a number of assistants—a younger man, four scouts from among the volunteers, and helpers and errand men. While the priest instructed him, the others went to their lodges and got their things. At midnight the priest went outside waiting for the Morning Star to rise and then went inside and costumed the warrior to impersonate him—a buffalo hair rope around his waist, an otterskin collar around his neck with a hawkskin fastened on and suspended from his right shoulder, the ear of Mother Corn from his left shoulder. He painted his face with the red ointment—two streaks on either side of his face and a bird's foot on his forehead (astronomically unidentified; "right on the Milky Way"). He gave him the pipe to carry in his left hand or in his robe with the stem pointing upward. As the Morning Star was rising the priest said, "Here is your man. He is wearing your clothing. Protect him and make him successful." Then he led the warrior around the fireplace, faced him toward the entrance, his assistant beside him and the others following behind in [778]

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the order of the procession—the four leading scouts, firemakers, cooks, and messengers.

After traveling 15 or 20 miles, they lay down to sleep among the thick weeds, resuming their journey through the afternoon to a timbered spot where they made camp. The errand man cleared the ground, made a little fireplace in the middle, and the leader took off his costume and put it at the west end of the fireplace where the altar would be in the earth lodge. They all sat around the fireplace in order of their rank and cosmic affiliation, ate a meal, and talked a while; then the leader told them to lie down while he watched the sky and from time to time smoked his pipe. Just before the Morning Star rose, the scouts went out; when the star came up the leader began to recite the ritual, and hearing it everyone awakened and they continued on their journey. At noon they stopped, the scouts joined them and reported what they had seen; in the afternoon, they continued with their journey. Every day they traveled this way until the scouts reported that they had seen signs of the enemy. When the village was sighted, the scouts went all around, counting the tipis and generally taking stock of the situation. They made a final camp in the timber, making a large circle as if for an earth lodge, a fireplace in the middle with the excavated earth from the fireplace in a little mound to the east outside the circle. At the request of the leader, the warriors placed their gifts at the west, and taking some tobacco from the feet of the wildcat skin, he filled the sacred pipe and one of the men was chosen to do the ceremonial smoking to the celestial powers. The scouts made a final check of the enemy camp and when they got back, the leader ordered a large fire built and the ritual dancing began. The leading members of the party sang the songs of the creation: "The power of the *earth* goes through the enemy's country; the power of the *timbers, waters, seeds.* . . ." Others all sang and danced, "This is the way I do when I am imitating him (the Morning Star), when I become angry, when I am imitating him," and as they sang and danced, they attacked the fire as if it were the enemy. At the rise of the Morning Star, the leader also danced, put on some of his regalia, and got his pipe ready, and they set out for the enemy village, the scouts in the lead. In his prayer to the Morning Star he asked that he lose none of his men. At the enemy village, the leader was stationed at the east facing the Morning Star; he sent his assistant to lead a party around by north and another man by south to surround the village. At the southeast the man representing the Fools-the-Wolves Star was to alert them with his first wolf cry, and then at his second wolf signal everyone would attack the village. They were reminded that they were not to kill unless it was necessary, but only to locate a thirteen-year-old girl and pronounce her holy for the Great Star. The one who found her was assisted by the others to bring her to the leader. No one else in the village was to be harmed. The four scouts were to

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drive the horses from the village toward their encampment so that they could leave in a hurry. The enemy would not immediately attempt a pursuit as there was a feeling that this was a kind of cosmic destiny. Retribution would be visited upon the whole tribe later on in a regular war party. The girl was placed on a pony behind her captor, and they rode all day, sleeping only three hours during the night until they approached the village. As they approached, the leader set the prairie on fire to let them know that they had been successful. The warriors smeared their faces with soot. The Morning Star priest came out and led the captive girl to the village and to his lodge.

Now that the girl had been captured the first stage of the warrior's mission had been accomplished. The sacrifice would not take place until the following spring. The whole tribe would go off on the winter buffalo hunt, taking the girl with them. When they got back to the village and the creation ceremony had been performed, the priest of the Morning Star would watch for a sign from the cosmic god that the time for the ceremony had arrived. Meanwhile, the returned war party settled back in the village. The visionary warrior went to the lodge of the Morning Star priest and returned the costume which was replaced in the sacred bundle. Warriors told how many of the enemy they had touched and the war counts they should receive because of this and the number killed. The women danced the victory dance. The keeper of the Wolf bundle was called to the Morning Star lodge to take over the care of the girl who would remain in his charge until the time of sacrifice, throughout the period of the winter buffalo hunt and the spring that followed. He was to watch over her at all times and was to take her for her meals to the home of the visionary warrior. According to the creation legend, the wolf was the first creature to suffer death; he was murdered by the people because of his perfidious conduct and as a result from that time on all living things must die (see below, pp. 328-329). The Wolf bundle commemorated these incidents and its keeper was thought to be a descendant of the original owners. Sirius, the southeast star, was the Wolf Star and it was connected with death. The Wolf man now entered the lodge of the Morning Star priest who bathed both him and the girl in incense from the smoke of burning sweet grass—first the girl and then the man. Then the girl's costume was taken from the Morning Star bundle. She was rubbed with red ointment made of pigment and buffalo fat and dressed in a calfskin skirt tied around the waist by a rope, an overblouse, a warm buffalo robe, some black moccasins, and a soft down feather to wear in her hair. She was given a special wooden bowl and a buffalo horn spoon for her exclusive use at meals, that was also taken from the bundle. It was dangerous for others to use her utensils as the supernatural beings might then consider them part of the sacrifice.

While they were on the winter hunt, the warrior visionary would have

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to kill a fat buffalo cow whose tongue and heart would be dried and used in the sacrifice ceremony.

Returned from the buffalo hunt, the diligent search of the Morning Star priest was rewarded when one morning the Morning Star arose ringed in red, giving the signal for the ceremony to begin. The warrior visionary was notified to clear out his lodge as the ceremony would be held there. The lodge was prepared, the warrior was dressed in a special costume for this role and the girl was brought in and dressed for her role. Then the scaffold was built and the sacrifice carried out. These proceedings occupied five days from the time the Morning Star gave the signal.

In the visionary's house all the beds were cleared out and a new fire of cedar logs was built. The Morning Star priest brought in the bundle in order to costume the visionary: around his waist a long belt of otterskin with sixty-five scalps taken in war, symbolizing war, death, and also the renewal of life, as the otter is the first animal to come up from the water after the winter ice and take the first breath of life for the year; a feather to place in his scalplock; and a war club to hold in his hand. So dressed he ran through the village calling on his relatives for contributions of new mats, food, and wood for the ceremony. The women came bringing mats, wood on their backs, cooked corn, and buffalo meat. Four long poles of special kinds were obtained to place radially in the fireplace extending outward in the semicardinal directions and meeting at the middle. They would last for the four day ceremonial period, being pushed inward as they burned down. Each was a different kind of wood appropriate to the semicardinal direction in which it was pointed: elm, northeast; boxelder, southwest; cottonwood, northwest; willow, southeast. The willow stood for death like the death star and at the same time the renewal of life in the spring. At the altar of sacrifice, willow and otter would be fastened together to express this symbolism.

The ceremonial lodge in order, they were now ready to begin the first day's ceremony. The chief of Village-across-a-Ridge (*Turwahukasa*) that owned the Morning Star bundle, entered and seating himself at the northwest, inquired whether they were ready to receive the Wolf man and the girl. On the south side of the lodge there was a large buffalo bull robe with two cushions on it for them to sit on. As they entered, the man suffused the girl with smoke from the burning sweetgrass and then he "incensed" himself. The Wolf man sat on the southeast of the two cushions, the girl at his left with her bowl and spoon before her, the visionary at the south. Others came and seated themselves according to rank and the direction of their celestial bundle powers in the firmament, and there were several old men who were to talk to the girl and the Wolf man whenever there was a pause in the proceedings. Each one had suffused himself with sweet grass smoke as he entered and painted himself

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with red buffalo-fat ointment. Four circles were made on the ground one in each of the semicardinal directions to symbolize the four quarters of the universe that the Morning Star had to pass as he approached the Evening Star. The circles were made by a man who stood in the middle and extended his toe as far as possible, drawing his foot on the ground as he turned. The tracks were filled with soft down feathers from the bundle. The priest smeared himself with red buffalo-fat ointment and suffused himself with sweet grass smoke. The actual ceremony could begin.

The priest of the Evening Star bundle sang the first part of the ritual and after a pause, the Morning Star priest took charge. He sang two songs. Then they had their meal. The Wolf man opened the next phase, bringing the girl to the altar where she was anointed by the priest with red ointment given to him by the war leader. They returned to their seats and the ceremony continued all night. The second day's ceremony was of the same kind. On the third day they continued to sing and dance, the war leader beginning the dance and then being joined by the others. The war leader took up the northeast pole from the fireplace with the fire still burning on its end and pointed it at the girl without touching her, first toward her right side then toward her left. Next he took first the southwest pole following the same procedure, then the northwest pole and then the southeast pole, following the prescribed order. Now, on the third day, the crowd of spectators became heavy and began to push into the lodge and tear holes in the roof so that they could witness the proceedings.

While the ceremony was going on in the lodge the priest gave directions for the preparation of the sacrificial scaffold. He sent men to find a suitable location a mile or two east of the village with a ravine or a series of dips in the ground to the east of it where the attacking warriors could hide during the ceremony. Wood for each part of the sacrificial frame had to be of special kinds: cottonwood for the two uprights; the four crossbars near the bottom serving as steps, each symbolizing one of the four semicardinal directions, the bottommost elm, then box elder, cottonwood, and willow, each associated with an animal power. Elm represented the bear and the northeast; box elder, the mountain lion and the southwest; cottonwood, the wildcat and the northwest; and willow, the wolf and the southeast. When the men reported back to the priest that they had located the wood, he gave them four strips of animal skin, each one of the appropriate animal with which to tie the crossbars to the frame. Near the top of the two uprights was another crossbar of willow, symbolizing Heaven, which was tied on with otterskin to symbolize the renewal of life. They were instructed by the priest to dig a rectangular pit under the scaffold in area about the size of a buffalo robe commonly used to wrap a sacred bundle and 5 inches

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deep, the bottom to be covered with soft down feathers. The pit symbolized the Garden of the Evening Star from which all life originates. The pit was called *Kusaru*, which in Pawnee simply means bed.

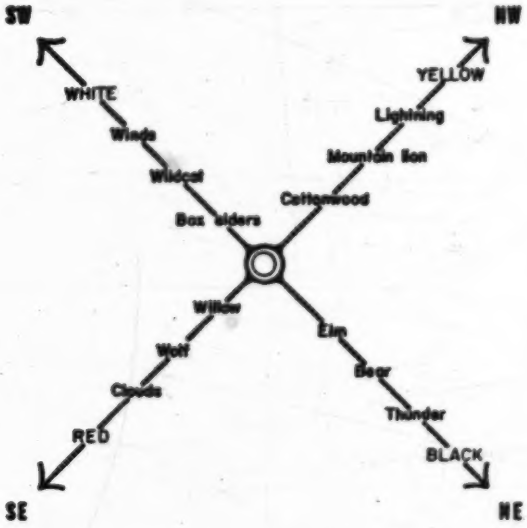

FIGURE 10-1. Association of symbolisms for the four semicardinal directions: colors, natural forces, animals, trees.

In the ceremonial lodge, the dancing and singing continued on the fourth day. Whenever they ate during the ceremonies, the girl was served, and once in a while she was taken out to walk around, always accompanied by Wolf man. The main theme of the fourth day was the destruction of the four semicardinal circles in the appropriate order as Morning Star had done in the creation as he warred on the Evening Star. The priest, impersonating the Morning Star wore leggings decorated with scalps. First he arose and sang and danced around the north side, then the south side, then back to the altar. He danced around the lodge again and when he arrived at the east he whirled around suddenly and destroyed the northeast circle scattering the white feathers around the lodge, then the southwest, the northwest, and the southeast circles, making a grunting sound each time as if attacking an enemy. Then all sang the fifth song and the girl was taken to the altar to be costumed for her last role.

Her body was painted, red on the right side, black on the left, the red to symbolize day, the time of the Morning Star, and the black to

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represent night, the time of the Evening Star. She wore a skirt and a painted hide robe around her shoulders. Now they sang of the origin of the Morning Star itself that they thought had come from a meteor. They sang to the girl, "You are now wearing the covering of meteorite grandfather," and in the next song, "You are now wearing the covering of the meteorite father," and then, "You are now wearing the covering of the meteorite brother." They completed her costume with a row of feathers standing up erect along the median line of her head. Her costume complete, she sat down in her place next to the Wolf man. They sang until midnight and then they paused, awaiting the time of the Morning Star. Meanwhile they placed a pinch of tobacco before the altar and sang about flint, the meteorite grandfather and other Morning Star symbols. Thereafter they would have to address their songs to the Morning Star in the sky. During the pause, once in a while the visionary took up the four direction poles from the fireplace and pointed them at the girl as he had done before in the prescribed succession: northeast, and so on.

Now the procession to the scaffold would begin. All the men and boys and even male infants were to participate in the sacrifice. During the day, one of the priests had climbed up to the roof of the earth lodge and called out, alerting them to be prepared with their bows and arrows. In the ceremonial lodge, the priest gave the war leader the braided elk-hide ropes to tie on the girl's wrists. He took up the gourd rattles. It was almost daylight. The four priests of the four direction bundles had gone out to dress, each being assisted by a specially designated person to adjust their costumes and to get ready. The Northwest man (Yellow Tent) wore two owlskins on his back that he had taken from his bundle; in his hand he held the bow he took from the Skull bundle and a red arrow that he had added to it. The Southeast bundle man (Red Tent) also had two owls and took a stick with coals on the end. The Southwest bundle priest (White-Mother-Born-Again) had two owls also and he took a war club. The fourth priest, representing the Big Black Meteoric Star (black, northeast) who also wore two owlskins on his back, took the flint knife.

Now all sang and started on the procession, the girl and the Wolf man in the lead followed by the visionary-war leader dressed in his otter collar, his otter belt with sixty-five scalps, his pipe, and other regalia and the four direction priests in their costumes.

The dawn was coming and the scaffold was ready. Slowly the procession went toward it. As they went they sang four songs. The girl looked around and wondered. The first song said, "She was looking around for just a little time." Then they sang of Heaven and of the powers of the bear, the mountain lion, the wildcat, and the wolf as the girl approached the scaffold. The Wolf man urged her to mount and as she

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climbed each rung, a song was sung about the appropriate animal. Singing they tied her on and then left her there facing east.

The war leader and four direction priests were hiding in the ravine; now the four priests came out one by one. The Southeast bundle man with the burning stick ran out of hiding and barely touched the girl on the arms and loins. The Northwest bundle man came out with his bow and arrow and shot her through the heart. Now the Northeast man of the Big Black Meteoric Star rushed up with the flint knife and made a small cut over her heart. Taking some of the blood, he painted streaks on his face. The southwest man came with the warclub, and he made a gesture at her. The blood of the girl was allowed to drip on the dried tongue and heart meat of the consecrated buffalo, and the priest made a new fire at the southeast, the burnt offering of the sacred meat being made by the priest of the Evening Star bundle. Now all the men and the boys of the Skidi Band, singing war songs, riddled the body with their arrows. Then the priest told them to leave the sacrifice.

The priests now made a final disposition of the body. It was full daylight, and four men who had been chosen to assist, untied the body and took it about a quarter of a mile to the east, placing it on the ground face down. They sang, "The whole earth, she shall turn into. The whole earth shall receive her blood." Then they spoke of nine things in turn: "She will turn into a bunch of grass; the ants will find her, the moths will come and find her, the fox shall come and find her, the coyote, the wildcat, the magpie, the crow; buzzards will come and find her, and last of all will be the bald-headed eagle who will come and eat her."

All the people who participated in the ritual went to the ceremonial earth lodge and there ate a meal of consecrated buffalo meat. The public dispersed.

[786] In the village there was general rejoicing. Men and women danced, and there was a period of ceremonial sexual license to promote fertility. Some women dressed themselves in their husband's war costumes, dancing around and making fun of the men. They mimicked what they did in war and ceremony.

> They carried the Mother Corn. . . . They would go to the secret lodge, and standing outside of it would tell the story of how they came to go on the pretended war party and what they did while they were gone, what enemies they struck—the whole long story. The people stood around laughing as they did these things. Imitating the warriors, the women changed their names also. One of the leading old women once took the name "Mud on Meat" another "Skunk Skin Tobacco Pouch" another, "Sitting Fish Old Man," another "Stepping on the Heart." The old men standing around joked with the old women and they all joked and made fun of each other.
>
> (Grinnell, 1925, p. 368)

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So the ceremony had ended. The Morning Star had received back the first girl to be placed on earth, and he would again look after the people in peace and in war. In the way of the Morning Star, death and life, war and fruitfulness were one process.

When the news of this dramatic rite first reached the eastern seaboard of the United States in 1820–1821, it created something of a sensation, especially in the light of the obvious Mexican analogies. In 1816 an Ietan (Comanche?) girl was captured by a Skidi warrior in preparation for sacrifice to the Morning Star in the spring of 1817. The chief of the Skidi at this time was Knife Chief (*Ritsirisaru*) of Pumpkin-Vine Village. In 1811 he had been on a delegation to see William Clark in St. Louis who was then Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the region and they had had a long and serious talk in which Clark impressed Knife Chief with the fact that the white people were coming in ever-increasing numbers "like the waves of the ocean—in, in, in. . . . It's coming; every year more people come over here," and that the Pawnees must prepare to adapt themselves. Knife Chief was impressed with the validity of his argument and he realized that their ceremonial practice of human sacrifice was a serious barrier to their relations with the whites. He talked to the people in an effort to get them to abandon the custom, but the warriors of the tribe and the priests, always suspicious of the political motives of the chiefs, were hostile and defiant. The ceremonies were continued and on the appointed day the girl was led out and tied to the scaffold.

On the trip to see Clark in St. Louis, Knife Chief had been accompanied by his son (or possibly paternal nephew) Man Chief (*Pita-risaru*), and, now in his early twenties, he was an outstanding warrior and universally respected. With the crowd gathered and the warrior ready to shoot the fatal arrow, Man Chief rode before them and told them that his father disapproved of what they were about to do and he had come to rescue the girl or die right there. By Skidi belief, anyone who touched the consecrated girl during her captivity would soon die, for they would be taken by the Morning Star in her stead. From the point of view of those assembled there, Man Chief was thus offering his life as forfeit for hers. The crowd now held off in awe, and Man Chief was able to cut the girl down from the scaffold and place her on a horse and send her south to rejoin her people, which she succeeded in doing.

The next year, 1818, a Spanish boy of ten was captured in Oklahoma and dedicated to the Morning Star. This time Knife Chief managed to call a chiefs' council and he was able to ransom the boy with his own store of goods to which was added that of the trader and interpreter, Papin, and Manuel Lisa. The boy was returned to Lisa's trading post on the Missouri north of Omaha, Nebraska, by the middle of June 1818. Notice of the escape of the boy, along with an account of an additional sacrifice, appeared in the *Missouri Gazette* of St. Louis.

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ble he would kill a buffalo and pronounce it holy. Then he called in the five official Skidi priests, who were the ministers of the four semicardinal-direction bundles and that of the evening Star, and entertained them at a feast of buffalo ribs, telling them of his vision. His wife sliced, dried, and packaged the rest of the consecrated buffalo meat and kept it in her storage pit at home until the spring, when the ceremony was to be performed.

The visionary became a principal actor in the ceremony and made a major contribution of buffalo meat to the ritual feast, while his wife contributed a considerable amount of the boiled dried corn. He considered it a great privilege to participate in the ceremony and to receive instructions from the priests concerning the cosmic traditions. During the ceremony he would impersonate an important god of the creation, *Paruksti*, the Wonderful, the personified Thunderstorm with its four aspects of cloud, wind, lightning, and thunder. After the Star Gods had created man in their own image, they combined the powers of the storm into one great person, *Paruksti*, the Wonderful, and sent him to earth to inspect their handiwork. In him were embodied all the self-renewing powers of earth. In the course of his travels he acted as scout, found the buffalo, and taught the people how to hunt them. The visionary was to impersonate the god in two roles—one in the symbolic acting-out of the male role in procreation and later as the guardian of their fortunes in the buffalo hunt.

In this ceremony of the young holy corn plant, the keepers of all the twelve sacred bundles had assembled in the lodge of the Southwest (or Southeast) Semicardinal-direction priest. The Evening Star priest and the four semicardinal-directions priests sat at the west and the other bundle ministers were ranged along the sides in positions appropriate to the place of origin of their legendary villages and their cosmic affiliations.

The visionary stood before the Evening Star priest, who arranged the buffalo robe that he wore and tied the buffalo hair rope around his waist so that he was dressed as a priest. The Evening Star priest now instructed the visionary in what he was to do. He gave him a small pipe filled with tobacco from the sacred bundle. The visionary then led the procession that was to go into the field where the sacred corn plant was growing. It was the field of the wife of the Southwest (or Southeast) bundle priest. The procession lined up on the north side of the ceremonial earth lodge, the visionary in the lead, the four-directions priests following behind him and an errand man following after to serve them, carrying a lighted brand with which to light the visionary's pipe. The Evening Star priest remained in the lodge at the west and the ministers of the other sacred bundles continued to sit in their places. As the procession emerged from the lodge everyone in the village was standing on the

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of general ceremonial procedure. He was also the patron of knowledge as indicated in the star chart attached to his sacred bundle, and also patron of the knowledge of the earth and the waters and the doctors, who took care of this aspect of man's life. He controlled the coming of the night, the animals, and, particularly, the buffalo.

The Great Cleansing Ceremony was conducted under his tutelage twice a year just before going out on the hunt. It combined the symbolisms from both the celestial and the earth and water realms. In the creation ritual held after the first thunder in the spring, the systematic theology of the cosmos was given. The doctors also had a systematic ideology of their own. While many of their curing practices and behavior had much in common with other individual North American Indian shamans or medicine men, all their animal cults were organized into a unified association outside of which no one was able to practice lest he be accused of witchcraft operations. Traditionally, this was founded in the Pumpkin-Vine Village where all the men were doctors. This village was anciently supposed to have been associated with Village-Lying-across-a-Ridge. The association of the doctors was attributed to a single founder who experienced a series of visions that formed an integral system, paralleling in a sense the formation of the political federation of villages. The visionary had a series of visions in an animal lodge that was located under the water, where he learned the true nature of the animals and illusionist techniques of sleight of hand and other arts of suggestion as modes of curing and of influencing events. He was also taken over the country by the animals in his subsequent visions and taught the value of different roots and herbs. Eventually he invited a few other men to his house and shared the mysteries with them. After the harvest and the summer buffalo hunt, still others were invited and learned from these new doctors. They constructed little lodges of willows and cottonwoods inside the earth lodge, and to each the leader gave the skin of an animal that was to characterize his cult. Within his individual booth, the animal would instruct the new recruit in a dream. Then calling each in turn, the original visionary, through a process of hypnotic transfer, taught each head doctor the songs and dances of his special cult. Dressed in their animal-skin costumes, these men danced and were taught the arts of suggestion and sleight of hand. First they practiced hypnotizing one another and then, going out of the lodge, made a public display of their powers. After the ceremony they deposited in the water of the stream, the little lodges they had built and the images they had made. When they got home, they were told to hold their dances in winter and spring after the first thunder, but not to display their hypnotic and sleight-of-hand powers until the fall, when all had returned to the village after the summer hunt. A great public ceremony was to be held for the benefit of the people, lasting two or three

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months. Thereafter, whenever a man had an animal vision, he applied to the Doctor Association and was given a place in the lodge.

All during the summer hunt and the hard work of getting in the harvest that followed, the people looked forward with great anticipation to the elaborate performances that the doctors would put on all during the month of October. It was a Grand Opera with a connected series of episodes, combining animal mimes, displays of sleight of hand, and illusionist performances of different kinds, hypnotic acts, songs, and dances. In that summer the people contributed the dried meat of eighty buffalo to the Doctor Association for the forthcoming ceremony and in former times as many as 140 were given. This was one of the prime motivations for going on the hunt.

In the Great Cleansing Ceremony now to be held before departure, both the celestial and the doctors' symbolism was combined, one connected with crops and the other with the wild animals.

As soon as the chiefs had determined the date for the departure on the hunt, they notified the priest of the sacred bundle who was in charge for that season, and he in turn got in touch with the other four priests. They all came to his lodge, beating on their bundles to signify that they were now going to conduct a national ceremony. They took their appointed places at the west, putting their bundles down in front of them and sending the errand man to summon the other bundle keepers to come with their mats and food bowls. They spread their mats and sat in their traditional places, hanging their bundles on the wall behind them. They remained in the lodge for three days and nights, feasting and talking together. Meanwhile the four main priests went through the village calling on the people to bring gifts to Mother Corn. They were being asked to bring the clothes that would costume the chief who was to lead the procession when they took the sacred objects to the stream. Only men of sterling character were privileged to make such a contribution—those who were public spirited enough to initiate public ceremonies, were courageous in defense, volunteered frequently for public service, were generous in helping the less fortunate, did not harbor malice, did not engage in any kind of violence or loud conduct, did not gamble or indulge in sexual adventures in unsanctioned social categories. They were to bring a buffalo robe, moccasins, a buffalo-hair cord as a girdle, and dried buffalo meat and fat that had been consecrated on the previous buffalo hunt. The donors would paint themselves red, carrying their gift through the village for everyone to see as they took it to the ceremonial lodge. After the gift was presented, two messengers went through the village announcing the gift and publicly thanking the donor.

The actual ceremony in the lodge was performed on the fourth day after the bundle keepers had assembled there. Very early that morning

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796 the four priests dug a rectangular pit west of the fireplace to represent the Garden of the Evening Star. The bottom of the pit was covered with soft downy feathers and was referred to as *Kusaru*, "bed." All the bundles were now opened and the two sacred ears of corn, one attached to a stick (representing the male), were placed in the "Garden," with the other ear (representing the female) leaning against it.

• [773] Now another model was made representing the waters and the animal life that pertained to them—the waterfowl, swan, and loon, and a garfish to represent the Great Sea Monster that had guided the original visionary of the doctors and a turtle. These were placed around a wooden bowl containing some water with a clamshell in it to represent the running waters.

Next came some ceremonial procedures that pertained to the specific tradition of the Big Black Meteoric Star. The principal objects involved were the star chart which was attached to the bundle. This was placed on a stick, carried outside, and fastened on top of a little mound of earth in front of the door. Then four smooth stones, thought to represent both meteorites and buffalo maw stones, and to have come down to them from the beginning of the world, were each attached to a stick; four men were assigned to carry them to the mound outside. The "northeast" man of the group was given the sacred pipe and a long strip of buffalo fat. When they got outside, he placed the strip of dried buffalo fat on a little fire, built to the east of the little mound of earth for the purpose. As the procession filed out of the lodge, the priests were singing a song about the men scanning the heavens and the earth all around. They continued to sing as the steps of the ceremony were performed outside. The melting buffalo fat was rubbed on their hands and faces by the four men who were outside; these men also greased the four sacred stones. As they smoked the sacred pipe they slowly surveyed the sky in all directions.

When they got inside, the priests stopped singing and the men performed their devotions around the bowl of water with the skins of the waterfowl and the turtle.

796 789 *224 The next two episodes were acts of sympathetic magic for success in the buffalo hunt. The leading priest said, "Priests, the men whom we have sent to look around have returned. They will tell us what they have seen." The man on the northeast arose and said, "We went out before daylight. We found the buffalo—so many of them that they have almost drunk the river dry." The other three men each replied in the same way. A famous warrior was then selected by the priest to carry the sacred pipe and a chief to carry the strip of the buffalo fat. As they went around the room, first along the north and then the south, everyone reached out to try to put his hands on the pipe and to seize a piece of the buffalo fat, tearing off as much as he could to symbolize that he was starving and was desperate to kill the buffalo.

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*224 The creation story that was
*773 often reviewed in these ceremonies told them how this had come about.
796 The number four had a sacred significance in connection with the four
801 semicardinal directions, and the combined hunt of all the bands together was conducted in four major episodes.

*224 At the council tent in Camp 10, during their last evening on the Platte, White Eagle and the other Skidi chiefs planned out the strategy of this major phase of the hunt. The chiefs of the other three bands were also meeting in council. White Eagle as the leader of the hunt was to take the initiative. For diplomatic reasons he had decided to give over the management of the first hunt episode to Man Chief of the Asking-for-Meat Band, who were currently "Fathers" to the Skidi in the Peace Pipe trading relationship. Man Chief was formally notified and he appointed the necessary religious and technical personnel, including three scouts who would go out long before dawn to survey the country and locate the herd. Long before the camp broke up that morning they had gone out, and when they found the hill beyond which the herd was located the chief scout crawled up cautiously on his belly, imitating the motions of a wolf so that he would not be detected by the herd. As long ago as
[175] 1540 the account of Coronado's expedition reported that white wolves
[136] ranged all over the plains, living peaceably in the presence of the buffalo cows, so that the bulls as well as the herd as a whole were obviously well accustomed to having wolves nearby. They would not detect humans unless the scouts stood in the direction of the wind so that they could be scented. After the head scout had surveyed the situation to his satisfaction, he invited his fellow scouts to come up, each in turn crawling up like a wolf and taking a look around. In a war party one wrapped oneself in a whole wolfskin with bow and arrows concealed under the arms and tail, but a blanket was sufficient to fool the buffalo.

*224 Meanwhile the people in camp had awakened, broken up camp, loaded
*484 up and set out across the country for Camp 11. Following along Plum Creek almost to its source, the line of march continued overland in a southeast direction until it reached the head of Turkey Creek, continuing southward along its west bank. When the people were about midway along, one of the scouts came riding up to inform them of conditions in
[202] connection with the herd. As he approached, he signaled with his blanket, throwing it up twice to show that there were many buffalo. When he reached the line he told them that the herd was coming up from the river and wasn't very far, but that nevertheless the line of march should continue slowly along the west bank of Turkey Creek rather than crossing to the east side in an attempt to avoid disturbing the herd, and then crossing back again to make their camp. He told them that Turkey Creek was muddy near its confluence with the Republican, as some of the herd had already crossed over and were moving eastward.

*224 Taking account of these factors, the plan of action was as follows.

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tional as well as the physical structure of these animals. The device of animal impersonation by dressing up in animal skins and imitating their sounds and motions is universally reported for hunting peoples and must go back to the very dawn of man's history. It may be that some degree of self-induced trance or control of the prey in these terms may have been involved in these operations. In any case, an intense rapport with the animals was involved.

Each doctor developed his own "animal repertoire." We may be able to gain some insight into the relation between the doctor and his animal mentor from an actual case of a transfer of animal powers between two brothers who decided to make a fair exchange of their different knowledge.

Victory Call was anxious to get Bear knowledge from his older brother, Sitting Hawk, who was a leader of the Bear Lodge in the Doctor Association. One day when they were alone together he broached the subject. Sitting Hawk, however, was not willing to part with what he knew for nothing. He said, "I want something there on your side. We're going to trade." "You're my own brother," said Victory Call, "and you won't teach me for nothing?" "You're my own brother, too, and I know you won't teach me for nothing either," said Sitting Hawk. We should explain that Victory Call was the leader of a private doctor cult the *Raris-ta*, Dance-Deer or Whistle Dance involving the mescal bean that had become so prominent among the Pawnees that it was developing into a feared rival of the Doctor Association itself. Two generations before, this cult had been borrowed from the Wichita, the Caddoan-speaking kinsmen of the Pawnees to the south. Among other kinds of knowledge, rattlesnake power was involved in the teachings. It is hard to know what plants were involved in connection with the curing of snakebite or the control of the snakes. Members of the *Raris-ta* could handle a weed that was thought to be poisonous to other people, though there is no proof that this was the case. It was undulating in form like the snake itself. People were warned not to touch the plant unless they were members of the society. It was said of them that they had "snake-shot" or power, *rut-patsat-kuriraru*, "snake-shot-to-possess-or-own." Weeds associated with rattlesnakes have variously been identified from other tribes—a Mexican mentioned Dodder or Love Vine (*Cuscuta paradoxa* Raf.), saying that snakes took it into their dens for food; from the Dakota Indians there is a report that Bittersweet (*Celastrus scandens* L.) was known as snake food. The botanical identity of the Pawnee plant, however, is not known. In the cosmic mythology it was said that the jealous Fools-the-Wolves Star (Sirius) who had felt himself excluded from the original Council of the Gods, was angered when people told irreverent stores about Wolf or Coyote. Although in winter he couldn't control the situation, in summer he could enlist the aid of the Snake Star (Scor-

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pio), who would send the snakes on earth to bite the teller. There are many other indications in Pawnee mythology of the fear and respect the Pawnees held for the power of the rattlesnake.

Later in the course of our account of the doctor performances, we shall see that Victory Call did receive Bear knowledge from his brother, but first he taught him rattlesnake knowledge.

> One day Victory Call said to Sitting Hawk, "Well, let's go." If luck were with them they would find a rattlesnake right away. Sure enough, there sat a snake curled up with his head sticking up in the middle. Victory Call said, "Go ahead and catch it." Sitting Hawk thought, "It's going to bite me." The snake knew that Sitting Hawk was afraid of him. His fangs were sticking up and he was getting ready to bite. Sitting Hawk grabbed him by the neck. The snake felt cold on his arm. Sitting Hawk put the snake down and began to talk to him. He said, "That's what I wanted to know. That's what I wanted to find out." The snake said to Sitting Hawk, "I'm just like you. But you whip me and kill me for nothing. That's why, when you come in my path, I rattle to you to let you know I'm here. If you get out of my way then, I don't have to poison you. But when you come and abuse us, we must do something about it."
>
> Sitting Hawk now caressed Victory Call in blessing. The two men sat down and smoked a pipe together, offering puffs of smoke to the snake and talking to him. Then they went home and Victory Call gave Sitting Hawk some medicine to cure snakebite and showed him the weed it was prepared from.

Long after this time, when Sitting Hawk and Victory Call were dead and the tribe had moved to Oklahoma, Otter's older brother Fox Chief tried to transfer some rattlesnake power to him. But Otter failed from fear and hesitation:

> We two were walking along and we saw a big rattlesnake. Fox Chief told me to get hold of it, but I was afraid. Because of this, I would never have another chance. Fox Chief always had a little bundle of medicine in his buttonhole with fringes that hung down about four inches. He took a twig and chewed the end of it, dipping it in the medicine and then putting it near the end of the snake's nose. The snake relaxed and lay stretched out. He picked it up and put it in the crook of his arm so that it rested against the sheet that Fox Chief was wearing as a blanket. In this way he carried the snake home.
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> When we arrived at his earth lodge, his wife was sitting in front on a mat making a pair of moccasins. He said to her, "I've brought you something to eat." She was very pleased until she saw what he had

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796 ing" session that lasted late into the night. The successive fighting ses-
789 sions on subsequent evenings were installments of a single fight in
787 which a "magically produced" mescal bean is spirited away from its "owner" by various members of the Dance in turn until he finally succeeds in retrieving it and "swallowing" or rubbing it into his side so that it disappears from the scene "in possession" of the rightful owner.
[824] The mescal beans are referred to as "horses" and when carried by a man on the warpath are supposed to assure him of success in capturing them. In the course of the hypnotic contest, the contestants are referred to as hostile tribes by their different tribal names according to the semicardinal "stations" where they belong. The rules of the game are that a person can only be attacked by someone who is in the diagonally opposite semicardinal station to the victim. This means that the *Northwest* possessor of the bean can have it spirited away from him only by an enemy of the *Southeast* and if he in turn passes it on to his ally on the *Southwest* then it will be retrieved only by the enemy on the *Northeast*. If the *Northwest* wants its bean back again, this can only be accomplished by a complicated maneuver in which the bean gets to the *Southeast* from which the *Northwest* can finally retrieve it. The Pawnee pictograph of a star is what to us is a simple equal-armed cross. The pattern of "fighting" described above is called "Making a Star," the complete operation of the diagonally opposite pairs, forming the
773 pictographic "star" or cross. This star reference has an important cosmic
776 significance. It symbolizes the Wolf Star, Sirius. As far as one can
[821] speak of such a deity at all among them, the Wolf Star is the Pawnee god of death and war. In the story of the creation legend, the gods forgot to invite the Wolf Star to their council, and he continued to harbor deep resentment against all of them, particularly being jealous of the Evening Star in the west and of Paruksti, the personified storm out of the west that the gods sent to inspect their handiwork when the earth was complete. On his journey of inspection to earth, Paruksti carried the people in a whirlwind bag. Whenever Paruksti was tired or lonesome, he set down the bag and the people came out, set up camp, and had a buffalo hunt. Then he gathered them up again and went on his way. Wolf Star in his anger placed a wolf on earth to follow after Paruksti, and, one day while Paruksti was asleep with his head pillowed on his whirlwind bag, the Wolf, thinking he would get something good to eat, gently lifted his head and dragged the bag out onto the open prairie. The people came out and set up camp, but were unable to get any buffalo in this barren place. They entertained the Wolf at a feast of dry meat, not realizing his identity. When Paruksti awoke and came over the hill they realized that the Wolf was an impostor and chased him, succeeding, as a result, in surrounding and killing him. But this did not please Paruksti. He told them that they would have to take the Wolf's

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skin, dry it, and make a sacred bundle of it and ever after be known as the Skidi or Wolf People. Moreover, that while the gods had intended that they were to live forever, since they had killed the first animal on earth, they had brought death upon themselves and also the men with their lances to make war. The Wolf Doctor played the major role in the sacrifice of the girl to the Morning Star (see Chapter 10). The actual name of the star was *Tskirixki-tiuhats*, Wolf-He-Is-Deceived. It was said that the star appears at times in the southeast just before the rising of the Morning Star and "deceives the wolves" who thus prematurely begin their howling to greet the morning when Sirius appears, without waiting for its true beginning with the rise of the Morning Star.

A further celestial connection of the Deer Dance is the control of rattlesnakes attributed to its members. Fools-the-Wolves Star has a celestial ally, the Real Snake (Scorpio) particularly during the summer time. Stories that the people told about the wolf or coyote were likely to be decidedly irreverent, and they refrained from telling them in summer because in that season Wolf Star would enlist his friend, Real Snake, to send the rattlesnakes on earth to bite the people.

The first five sessions of the Deer Dance ceremony have thus been occupied with a combined program in each session of "playing" and "fighting." The sixth night was given over entirely to "fighting," a second "star" battle ensuing over the mescal bean, in this case a bean belonging to the *Northeast* station, while the former combat originated at the *Northwest*.

With the end of this sixth session the first phase of the ceremony is completed. Here an apparently quite different motif enters the picture. Instead of war, we get a preoccupation with the growing crops. Until the fighting session is over, the members have been forbidden to eat green plant foods. At the banquet of the sixth session, they now have a vegetable stew of green corn, green beans, and pumpkins, all cooked in a kettle, which they ate with great relish, "the dry meat being hard to bite and the green stuff tasting good after being away from it." The corn and beans they had been permitted to eat up to this point were all dried and from last year's crop. While these two themes of war and the growing crops might seem opposed, the fact that the lifting of the taboo against eating the current crop is dependent on a session of intensive "fighting" is an indication of the basic connection in Pawnee thought between war and the fructification of the plants—a motif that also appears in other aspects of the theology and ceremonialism. Apparently the idea of fructification, as it came from the Wichita, pertained to wild plants rather than to cultivated crops, involving the maturation of the wild sage plant and the mescal bean, as well as the wild squash that was originally used for the rattle for which the Pawnee substituted the cultivated gourd rattle. The wild sage plant continued to be a major fes-

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SORCERY

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The Vision of a Poor Boy, Small—His Fate—Rivalry between Old Bull and Behaille—Male and Female "Witched" Members of the Community—Suspicions of Witchcraft in Sexual Affairs—Connection to "Fighting" in Doctor Performances—Fee-Splitting Ventures—Causes of Disease Regarded as Anxiety and Hostility—Interpersonal Hostility in the Community—Deadly Witch Missiles—the Treatment

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RIVALRY AND HATRED as well as love and community were as much a part of Pawnee life as of our own, and the animal lore of a doctor could be turned to ill as well as to good. In many cases the original dream vision of the future doctor consisted of being taken to an animal lodge under the water where the animals sat in council and judged the visionary. Others were terrestrial or cosmic, but the lodge under water was a common one. Such a vision came to a poor boy named Small (*Patsaa*) when he was about twelve years old. The Pawnee were living near Fremont, Nebraska, in the village they occupied just before going onto the reservation. It must have been around 1850. The Pawnee name of the animal lodge settlement was Pa-ha-ku, "hill-in water-sitting"; it was located near the edge of a rather sheer bluff on the south side of the Platte River. The animal lodge was thought to be located somewhere under water in the side of the cliff and it was reliably attested that lights were seen and noises heard in this location. It was also said that the wind was sometimes so strong there, that attempts to examine the spot closely were always foiled:

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Right on the sheer bluff of the high bank was a cedar tree. This is the doorway to the animal lodge of Pahaku. Sitting on the tree are

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all sorts of birds—particularly eagles—black, bald, spotted and also the chicken hawk. White people say it is that way yet. They say the wind is too strong there so that when you want to look, it pushes you back. At this bank, right under water is a big fish, the *tawakiiks*. In the night, one can hear drumming and sparks fly right on top of the water. This fish opens its mouth and one can see fire come out. This is Pahaku, the animal lodge. 787 773

Small was a poor boy who served in the household of an influential man, hauling water, helping with the household tasks, and tending the horses in return for his keep. One day he was lying at the edge of the bluff under a tree with his bow and arrows, hoping to catch some birds to eat. His friend, Old Bull, who was the son and heir of an influential chief, came along and joined Small and since there was a cool, pleasant breeze blowing, they fell asleep. When he woke up Small was gone and so Old Bull went home, thinking that Small had awakened before him and gone to his lodge. 787

But Small was on quite a different mission. While they were lying there, he had had a vision and had gone to the animal lodge. The animals had taken him in. When he awoke he was sitting east of the fireplace with his bow and arrows. There were different kinds of animals all around. Near the door was a big snake. Near the altar at the west was a Scalped Man, Kitsahuruksu, who was the boss of them all. He addressed Small saying, "Nawa, greetings, now I leave you to the animals. Now you fellows sitting around here—you brought him in. What are you going to do with him?" At the northeast near the cedar tree was the bear who said, "Let's eat him up." The rest of the animals laughed, but the weasel chimed in, from his seat at the northwest. "That's right. We'd better eat him up right away." Then the big snake at the southeast side of the door said, "He's right. We'd better try to eat him up."

But the elk (moose, *pax*) at the southwest said, "Now you wait. Since you folks could eat him and I can't, I have something to say. I'm the one that supports him and helps him to live." Just as he got through talking, someone about halfway south, the Beaver, spoke up. "He's right. I can't eat him either. I also support him and help him live." Near the southeast the reindeer said the same thing. He also added, "You folks don't try to do anything to help him stay alive. You just want to eat him up. Right now I'm going to allow Scalped-Man to decide what should be done since we disagree." They all said, "Nawa!" Several on each side had spoken up. Now reindeer said, "Who brought him in?" But everyone was silent for no one was willing to admit to having done it. So the Scalped-Man was given the problem of deciding.

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In the village, it was a major leisure-time preoccupation of men of all ages. Every village had one or two well-worn tracks. The gaming ground was the place where men would meet informally to transact most of their social, commercial, and political business. The formality of entertaining at home imposed more constraints and was commonly reserved for the more advanced stages of negotiations.

The basic paraphernalia for the game comprised a long "spear" and a hoop which was rolled down the long track and at which the spear was aimed as the men ran alongside.

The smallest boys began with a plain hoop, *tawirus*, "wheel," made for them by their grandmothers. The wheel was made of a peeled ashwood stick formed into a ring and tied at the ends. It was then entirely wrapped with a rawhide string and greased with buffalo fat so that it would not harden. It is not clear whether the boys shot at the wheel with arrows as told in a myth, or simply threw a pole or "lance" at it.

The second grade for young men was played with a wheel of small size—the *tawirus-pitku-rukita*, "wheel-two-upon." It is not clear whether the basis of this wheel was of wood or several coils of rawhide as for the succeeding grade. The base was completely wrapped with a strip of buckskin. The rings were supposed to represent a buffalo cow and were to be made of the skin of the vulva of the buffalo. The fore end of the stick was carved with a kind of knob to signify the penis of a buffalo. These aspects of the symbolism are recounted in a tale of how Coyote rescues a maiden who has been captured by the buffalo and taken to their village and turned into a gaming ring. In the course of the story, the play of the game is described:

Coyote is sitting in the buffalo village as a spectator of the game at the north end of the gaming ground. The two buffalo now arise, one of them taking the ring. (The ground is about 60 paces long, 15 wide and runs in a north–south direction in the length.) The players begin to run at the south end and when they get to about the middle, the one holding the ring rolls it toward the north, releasing it from between his thumb and forefinger and changing his spear from his left to his right hand. The two players now aim simultaneously at the rolling hoop so that the spears glide along the ground and overtake it, the best score being made by catching the ring with one of the small hooks near the hand end of the spear. Other points were gained by hooking with the end of the stick one of the cross pieces near the handle end or the large hook. It often happened that the spear did not catch the hoop at all and then points were calculated by the position of the spear with relation to the hoop—measurements being taken with a straw by someone who acted as umpire.

When the two players have reached the north end of the grounds, they picked up the ring and the sticks and started for the south end, rolling the ring as before and throwing the spears to score. Each set of play-

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526 [773] ers played the field once toward the north and once toward the south and then two other players got up and played their round.

The paraphernalia of *the mature men* differed from that of the youths in the size of the ring and in the complexity of the spear. The ring of the youths was about 8 inches in diameter, probably built on a wooden hoop wrapped in buckskin, while the mature men used a very small hoop, 4 inches in diameter, with strips of rawhide as a base, wrapped around with the buckskin string. The mature men's wheel was called, *ks-tats-awi-karus*, "hand-down-hanging-flat." The spear was about 5½ feet long. The pole was completely wound around with a strip of buckskin and at the hand end there was a large hook completely wrapped around with the same material. The shaft was slightly tapered from the hand end to the point. About three-eighths of the length in from the point the shaft was somewhat flattened and a cross piece was lashed onto it with a small hook fastened on top in the lashings. A similar cross piece with hook was fastened about one-eighth way in from the point end. It was with these small hooks that they aimed to catch onto the hoop or else with the ends of the cross pieces. The shaft used by the youths was plain wood with a knob on the end to represent the bison penis. At the hand end were fastened two hooks wrapped around with buckskin.

526 887 There was a game *played by old men* with a very large hoop (possibly 25 inches in diameter) with no spear. The hoop itself was rolled and aimed at one of the players of the opposing side as a kind of tag. The players lined up along both sides of the grounds and when the player had rolled the wheel and it struck one of the men standing on the opposing side to his, the man who was hit would spread his blanket and begin to run, while the other man pursued him. If he stumbled and tripped on his blanket, he would be caught and would then have to roll the hoop and try to tag a man of the other side. If the pursuer stumbled, he would have to roll the hoop again. The special play of the game was called *kiskiru'*.

526 821 [805] The wheel itself was called *ka-huraru*, literally, inside-land or "land of inside" which in Pawnee referred to the universe. The circumference of the wheel represented the horizon and it was marked off into twelve sections with bunches of feathers that were fastened on at equal intervals. Each section represented a thirty-day lunar month of the twelve-month year. The four seasons of the year were marked off on the hoop by different colors for each quarter-arc. The winter quarter was white, the spring quarter light green, the summer quarter darker green, and the autumn, reddish-yellow. The universe was conceived as having a flat base and rotating around the motionless earth, the progression of the seasons resulting from this rotation. This had been inferred from the fact that the stars and the planets appear to have changed their positions with the seasons. Across the diameter was stretched a string of buckskin or sinew

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with a white bead in the middle. The string represented the Milky Way and the bead the earth. Certain men liked to play this game when they came in from buffalo hunting and each could make his own wheel. No gambling accompanied this game.

The large wheel took about two days to make. The hoop was made of a bent sapling, the ends being crossed over for a short distance where they joined. The buckskin thong was fastened from this joining to the opposite side of the diameter to represent the Milky Way with the white bead in the middle for the earth. A wrapping of otter fur was wrapped around the joining of the hoop and at the opposite side and also marking off the boundaries of the other two quarter-arcs. Twenty-four feathers and bunches of feathers were tied with thongs at equidistant intervals around the circumference, twelve on each half. Each sector carried one of the regular moon or month names. The men also made a water drum of a hollow cottonwood log.

The most popular game of the women was a game in which a series of marked dice made of plum seeds were tossed up in a shallow coiled basket made of willow. This too had cosmic significance, for the basket represented the container ordained by Heaven during the creation to carry the earth from which the world was created and contained the germs of life. In the spring time during the ground-breaking ceremony immediately preceding the planting known as *awari*, "vigorous movement" or "living," two coiled baskets were used that had been especially made by the wife or sister of the minister under his direction. The women moved the baskets gently back and forth through the air in the course of the ceremony. At the creation, Heaven caused this basket to move of itself through space.

There were only eight or ten women among all the Skidi Band who knew how to make these coiled gambling baskets. They were made of willow twigs, and a woman who wanted one made consulted with the craftswoman who told her what kind of willow twigs to get in such and such a condition at the edge of the creek. The making took from two or three days and the woman received the usual combination of something to wear and something to eat for her services—five yards of calico and some corn, or half an intestine mat and skin cut out and ready to be sewn into moccasins. The old ladies who made these baskets were usually the ones who liked to gamble. Some women expressed scruples about learning to make them as they felt they would be encouraging gambling. There were a number of inveterate gamblers among the women, and the betting was heavy. Others managed to keep their gaming to a casual pastime. The woman who made the basket was usually asked to make the plum seed dice although any woman could make them. She was asked to rub them and to hope that her customer had good luck.

When the woman had gathered the willow twigs, she took them to the

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80 On the ownership of the sacred bundles: The Evening Star bundle is in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City; also the Skull bundle. At the Chicago Museum of Natural History is the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast Four-Direction bundle with the star chart (*riwirutsaku*, round-package) attached to it; also in the Chicago Museum is the Elk bundle, *arikarariki*. The Morning Star bundle is privately owned.

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80 Dorsey, 1904a, p. 331, note 24, makes the distinction between dream and vision. Vision is to "learn by being touched when the individual is awake or is in a trance, brought about by fasting or self-imposed hypnotism. Thus in a group of priests sitting in silence in a ceremony, one of them may in a vision see clearly some god or supernatural being and hold converse with it, while the other priests present are not aware of the presence of supernatural beings." The Pawnee made a clear distinction between hysteria as a source of vision and a vision of creative imagination. An example is the young man, Yellow Calf, who saw a deer woman whose charms he was unable to resist although his vision had dissolved. His problem was resolved by his marriage to an older medicine woman, Old Lady Tsitawa, leader of the Deer Medicine Lodge in the Doctor Association. In general it was prescribed that when someone is seen wildly coming out of the woods, they be immersed in water to bring them out of it.

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80 The spirits of the dead priests are thought to be contained within the gourd rattles, symbolized particularly by the pebbles they contained.

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83 Compare in Whorf, 1939, p. 670, the five suns listed—water, jaguar, rain, wind, and ollin—and the remarks on each with the Pawnee creation story in view of the tradition of the four direction villages, their leadership in ceremonialism, the star chart attached to one of the bundles, and other cosmic references. Note in the Whorf reference that it is stated that in the year 752, the Toltecs set up King Mixcoatmazatzin who began the Toltec kingdom. In Ceacatl 843 Quetzalcoatl was born. In five house the Toltec retain him in the country and make him their king and priest. Quetzalcoatl built a fourfold group of buildings where he and others prayed and fasted, conducted skilled work in precious stones and held religious rites. It was a celestial and astronomical cult with stellar and solar deities. Far-fetched as it may seem, Pawnee ideology appears to embody a faint echo of such conceptions. Certain elements in J. Eric Thompson's, *The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization* (1956) contain some tantalizing parallels. For example: "The sky was sustained by four Bacabs who stood at four sides of the world. More general, of course, is the association of the colors with the directions. In Pawnee mythology, the storm that accomplishes the creation

80-81 [821]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
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through its four elements, clouds, winds, lightning and thunder, is personified into a single gigantic personality, Paruksti, who makes a tour of the newly created world for the gods, his footsteps being carefully noted in the most minute detail." In Thompson, p. 171, the world is created in terms of a personified First Day who makes an extensive journey afoot over the land.

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82 Toothed vagina "like the mouth of a rattlesnake," Dorsey, 1906, p. 41. See Bogoras, 1902, p. 667, for wider distribution of this theme.

83, 152, 154-155 Buckstaff, 1927, is well illustrated with diagrams and a photograph of the Pawnee Star Chart in the Chicago Museum. He states (p. 285): "The Indians recognized the constellations as we do, also the important stars, drawing them according to their magnitude." Double stars were also shown as well as constellations. Astronomical analysis is included in the article.

84, 127 On the sacrifice of Haxti, the Oglala Sioux girl, see de Smet, 1905, pp. 974-987; Thwaites, Vol. 27, pp. 209-210; George E. Hyde, 1951, p. 164, based largely on Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, Vol. V, p. 77, footnote, also Vol. IV, p. 50. See also, Von Hagen, 1958, p. 98, where it is noted that after the seventeenth month, "they repaired to Cuauhtitlan, where the prisoners of war were lashed to scaffolds, after the manner of the Pawnee of the western plains and killed with arrows." Note Grinnell's, 1925, pp. 363-369, description of such a prisoner sacrifice. Wissler and Spinden,

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117 1916, p. 54, show one of the drawings in the *Codex Porfirio Diaz* representing scaffold sacrifice, the manuscript preserved in the National Museum of Mexico City and attributed to the Cuicatecan

319 tribe of the State of Guerrero. They estimate that the time must have been between 1506 and 1519—1506 when it appears in the Aztec codices for the first time and 1519 when the arrival of the Spaniards 'cut off abruptly the ancient religious rites of the

330 Mexicans . . .' (p. 55). See Irving's, 1955, pp. 184-188, account of sacrifice of a Cheyenne woman captive, especially the annotated footnotes.

84 Murie-Wissler manuscript, pp. 442-428, claims that after the new corn plant (*kurahus*, priest) was gathered in the spring, a new-fire ceremony was held and that the people let their fire die out and cleared out the ashes. The people are said to have gone off to a place where they made a new fire ceremony (p. 431). They state it was connected with a scalp ritual. I have no record of such a ceremony.

97 The only explanation of the use of loon necks and deer heads as hoeing implements in the *Awari* or Ground-breaking ceremony is possibly the statement of Will and Hyde, 1917, p. 169, that

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
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122 Will, 1930; Will and Hyde, 1917. 000

126 *Pa-hu-kata-wa* was said to be a famous warrior. Dunbar, 1881, p. 736, translates the term as "kneeprint-by-the-water," explaining that the warrior once left the print of his knee by the side of a stream when he hurriedly kneeled to take a drink of water. Pahukatawa is also identified by Grinnell as a constellation (1925, pp. 142-161). 773 55 82

127, 138, 391 See Weltfish, 1937 pp. 98-100, 106, for an account in Pawnee texts of Pawnee arrow-shaft making. 000

140 While horses were highly valued as wealth, they were not genuinely personified. They were never addressed by name, descriptive names being applied to them for reference in conversation. Names were: Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki;* Red Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki-pahat;* Black Face Horse, *Paks-takax-katit;* White Hoof, *Askats;* Spotted on Side, *Karaxkats-kataku;* Black Nose, *Tsus-katit;* White Horse, *Asa-taka;* Yellow Horse, *Asa-raxkata;* Red Head, *Paks-pahat;* High Forehead, *Rika-patsa.* Horses were never buried in separate graves or mourned. When a man died who had been very fond of a particular horse, they would sometimes kill the horse in his honor, but considerable opposition would often be raised to this by the people who might inherit the horse. 231 552 [556] 231 764 428 [766]

140 Dog's names, on the other hand, were used to call them. They were: Wide Feet, *As-katuribu';* White Spotted, *Paras-taka;* Bear Head, *Kuruks-paksu;* Red Puppy, *Kirax-pahat;* Hate-His-Tail, *Pits-tatur-ritku;* Gray-Headed-Female, *Ts-paks-kats;* Wooly, *Pararus;* Snub Nose, *Tsus-kataku;* Red-Sore-Eyes, *Kirki-itsparus.* Victory Call did not want dogs in his house. He said they barked when people came in and that this was not cordial. Dogs were never allowed in the earth lodge. They were kept outside all the time. Some people kept them as watchdogs, and in some cases, the puppies were used to supply the ceremonial meal of the Dog Society. Lone Chief and his brother, Shot Arm, used dogs for hunting and for dog fights. Women disliked dogs because they tended to snatch the meat. Dunbar and Allis, 1918, give a very vivid description of the use of the dogs and Jacob Miller (Ross, 1951) painted them in his picture of the Pawnees on the march pulling the travois in 1834–1836. The Pawnees were able to identify themselves with wild animals and had great respect for them, but did not accord a similar value to the domestic varieties. 231 552 231 [262] [825]

140 The Pawnees lost the hard-won horses they had gained through trade and war through constant Sioux raids. Murray, 1839, Vol. I, pp. 243-245, an English sportsman and naturalist who accompanied the Pawnees on their summer hunt in 1834, experienced a stampede while in camp of "several thousands" of Pawnee 231 726 179